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The COMMUNIST

OCTOBER

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POLITICAL FORCES AND ISSUES

A Comparative Survey

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Chamberlain Cooks Up Betrayal of Peace. Annexation of Sudetens to Germany Means Czechoslavakia's Destruction. Preservation of World Peace Demands Preservation of Czechoslovakia's Territorial Integrity. America's Stakes in the Situation. The Tasks of Our Class and People. Old-Age Pension Plans and Some of Their Critics. A Substantial Business Improvement Within an Economic Crisis. Falling Farm Prices and the Hanging Threat of New Fascist Aggression. Big Business Sabotages Reemployment and Hampers Recovery. Favorable and Unfavorable Economic Factors. On Wages, Hours, Speed-Up, Collective Bargaining and Prices. The Anti-Monopoly Investigation. People's Case Against Monopolies. Maryland and Georgia. Lessons in Election Campaign Struggles.

CHAMBERLAIN, Britain's Prime Minister, is cooking up one of the most criminal betrayals in history. Whatever the exact terms of the agreement with Hitler that is now being negotiated (which are at this writing unknown), its intent, purpose and effect cannot be doubted. It is to destroy an independent democratic state —Czechoslovakia. It is to open the road for a Hitler hegemony in Europe, which will spell the destruction of the national independence of every small nation on that continent, reducing France to insignificance. What would then happen to the British empire is not difficult to envisage.

Of course, one of the main purposes of the Chamberlain "appeasement" policy is to direct Hitler's expansionist ambitions toward the Soviet Union. The whole intent of the so-called four-power pact (Britain, Germany, Italy and France) which the pro-fascist and traitorous clique now ruling England has been cultivating all these years is to save "peace" for the West by letting Hitler make war in the East. *But these are day dreams.* Life has already proved amply that peace like war is indivisible; war in the East means war in the West—a world war. More to the point at the moment is another lesson.

Fascist aggression has so far gone along the lines of least resistance. It picks its first victims from among those who, in its judgment, are less likely to put up a real and prolonged fight. This is, of course, natural. But the chief explanation lies in the instability and fatal internal contradictions of fascism, *which needs quick victories and can afford no others.* This being a proven truth, it is not difficult to see that the Soviet Union does not exactly fall within the category of easy pickings. The Japanese fascist-military clique has found that out already and the lesson couldn't be missed by Hitler, either. Hitler fascism, which is driving to a new

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world war to redivide the world, sees objects of attacks that are *nearer* to Germany than the Soviet Union and *easier* (much easier) to tackle, considering the cowardice, treachery and pro-fascist leanings of the Chamberlain clique in England and its counterpart in France as well as in other capitalist countries.

Even Dorothy Thompson can see some of this more or less clearly. She writes:

> "And let us by all means keep before our minds what was pointed out in this column on Labor Day, that the Sudeten German problem really has nothing to do with the crisis in Europe. Hitler is not aiming at Czechoslovakia except incidentally. He is aiming at France, and through France at the rest of Europe. If Czechoslovakia goes, then the Franco-Soviet pact also is gone, and the whole Danubian basin is gone, and France will be surrounded on three sides by Germany, Italy and a Spain that will be merely an outpost of both of them. Her days will be numbered. *And it is one of the most ironic facts of modern history that the high finance and powerful capitalists, who have traditionally supported nation and empire, are today so scared of their own workmen that they are as blind as bats. They have become the most wishful thinkers in the world and the worst patriots.*" (*New York Herald Tribune*, September 16. Our emphasis—A. B.)

It is not very exact to say that Hitler is not aiming at Czechoslovakia. He is, of course. He needs to destroy Czechoslovakia as an independent state in order to prepare for a world war. Therefore, *the preservation of Czechoslovakia's territorial integrity and national independence is today a crucial point of struggle for the preservation of world peace.* He who today helps Hitler to get Czechoslovakia by destroying its territorial integrity, as Chamberlain is doing, or weakens in any way the determination of the Czechoslovak government and people (instead, of strengthening it) to defend by all means its existence as an independent democratic state, becomes an accomplice of Hitler and a contributor toward a new world war.

What is absolutely true in Dorothy Thompson's estimate is that Hitler is not concerned with the "autonomy" and self-determination of the Sudetens. This is merely a cloak and a shield. Hitler wants annexation to Germany of the Sudeten areas (perhaps through a "plebiscite") because he wants to destroy Czechoslovakia as an independent democratic state as a step in the direction of a world war. He remilitarized the Rhineland; took the Saar (by "plebiscite"); annexed Austria; is now making a try at Czechoslovakia; and if allowed to succeed, France and England will come next. Thus the new world war is not avoided. On the contrary, it is made more certain by Chamberlain's policies. It is made more certain and under conditions infinitely more favorable for fascism. And here Miss Thompson puts her finger on something very important as when she says that the high finance capitalists have become the "worst patriots." Yes, because they have become pro-fascist, the enemies of democracy, consequently the betrayers of their own countries. This is happening with the finance capitalists also in the United States, the same ones that are ganging up on Roosevelt and the progressive forces of the country generally.

The true patriots today are the true democrats, the enemies of fascism, the workers, farmers and middle classes.

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It is upon them that the task of saving the peace and democracy of the world lies. It is they who have to preserve the national integrity and independence of their peoples against the onslaught of fascism. It is they who have to show initiative in this situation. That's what the Communists of France are working for. That is what the Communists in England are working for, the British Communist Party having met in Birmingham at its 15th national convention (mid-September) and outlined a course of united action for the people of England to defeat Chamberlain's treacheries and to make England a power for peace and democracy. And this is the policy of the Communists everywhere.

This is also our task here, for our people and country confront the same danger. It is the advance of fascism, the destruction of democracy, the imminence of a new world war made more imminent, and more terrible when it comes, by every new concession made to the fascist brigands. But let us also be very clear on what the *immediate* danger is so we know exactly what has to be done today and tomorrow. *The immediate danger is Chamberlain's projected agreement with Hitler countersigned perhaps by Italy and France.* And this is the menace that has to be scotched and defeated.

It should be clear why this is so. Whether by "plebiscite" or outright annexation of the Sudeten areas to Germany; whether an agreement just on this alone or with this as part of a "general appeasement plan," calling for the "neutralization" of the remains of Czechoslovakia after it has been dismembered, with England, Germany, Italy and France guaranteeing this arrangement—the Chamberlain plans call for the destruction of Czechoslovakia as an independent democratic state. Anything that lays its murderous hands on the *territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia* spells the destruction of that country as an independent state. It spells the elimination of that state as a force for peace and democracy, not only in Europe, but in the whole world. It would open the road for a most menacing advance of fascism on all fronts, including Japan in Asia, and our own pro-fascists at home. This is what is at stake for the American people in what happens to the territorial integrity of "far-off" Czechoslovakia. Let us see it soberly, and with all its implications for the well-being and future progress of our own people and country. And let us do the right thing about it.

Let the American people and government speak out with a united voice *against the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and for the preservation of its territorial integrity and national independence.*

Let the American people and government make it known to the whole world, and especially to the people and government of Czechoslovakia, *that we here are heart and soul with them* in their struggle against the aggressive designs of fascism, for the maintenance at all costs of the territorial integrity and national independence of their country.

Let American labor and all other progressive forces in the country assure the American government that

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they are ready to support with all their influence such a policy of peace.

Let American labor with a united voice, and the more united the better, throw in the full force of its great influence in the world labor movement *for united international working class action* in defense of peace, in support of the struggle of the Czechoslovakian people for their life as a nation, *for the territorial integrity of their country.*

Let us Communists do our part as the vanguard of our class and people.

* * *

THE issue of old-age pensions is again dominating the minds of large masses of the people. The demand for effective legislation to provide maintenance for all working people over fifty is rising on all sides. In many states this demand figures as a central issue in the current election struggle. This is especially so in California, Arkansas, North Dakota and Washington where pension proposals are on the ballot as a result of initiative movements.

There is no need to prove at this time that the further development of a national system of *adequate* old-age pensions has become an absolute condition for the well being and progress of the people as a whole. With the evergrowing proportion of people over fifty, and with the ever increasing difficulty for people of this age to find employment even in times of relative business improvement, it should be clear to everyone that the question of old-age pensions is another of the nation's economic and social problems number one.

Of course, some of the plans advanced for the solution of this problem are open to serious criticism on economic and political grounds. A chief weakness of some of these plans (the California plan, for example) is the method of financing the old-age pensions. Similar in some aspects to the Townsend method, it would tend, by its sales tax features, to take away from the people with one hand what it would give them in pensions with the other, unless guarded against by additional measures. Also dangerous are many of the illusions raised by some of these plans in the omnipotence and cure-all power of old-age pensions as such. The Communist Party, seeking to establish the closest collaboration between the old-age pension movements and the general camp of labor and progress, has at all times offered friendly and positive suggestions for the improvement of these plans. We are doing this now as we did at the rise of the Townsend movement.

But there are also other "criticisms," which come from the spokesmen of the monopolies and reaction. And when these critics rise up in moral indignation at the "crack-pot economics" of some of the current pension plans, we must say plainly: gentlemen, you are funny. Crack-pot is your entire system of monopoly domination. Crack-pot is your own "science" of monopoly economics. The very illusions of some of the pension plans in the potency of mere money circulation as a cure-all for existing economic ills stem directly from your own economic system and "science." We say all this now, as we did before, insisting at the same time

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that in the hands of a government having the interests of the people truly at heart, the process of money circulation will prove to be a very powerful handle or lever, in a whole system of measures, for limiting the power of the monopolies and improving the lot of the masses.

The secret of the reactionary opposition, say, to the California pension plan lies not in its particular method of financing but in its *objective.* Reaction is opposed to pensions as such. It is opposed to security for the people. And the only reason reaction attacks also the method of financing, calling it "crack-pot," is the fear of the monopolies that *a fair and honest trial* of some of these plans would eventually lead the people to the *correct* road, the road of making the monopolies pay for adequate old-age pensions.

From all of which follows that the camp of progress and democracy must bring forward more forcefully than heretofore the growing demand of the people for adequate old-age pensions. This is a major plank in the program of the democratic front. It is formulated in specific legislative measures in the election platform of the Communist Party. It is an inseparable part of the general struggle against the consequences of the crisis and *for a people's recovery,* for jobs, security, democracy and peace.

* * *

THERE is no doubt that the economic crisis is stimulating powerfully the spread of the old-age pension movements. And the crisis is still with us although we are passing at present through a substantial business improvement whose nature and perspectives we analyzed in July.

We said then that there were substantial foundations for a temporary improvement in business which, though reaching considerable proportions, might be followed by another and more serious drop. What has happened since is this. The business improvement is realizing itself. The Federal Reserve index of the volume of industrial production rose from 77 in June to 83 in July. The curve is still upward but at *a reduced rate.* Tentative calculations placed the index in the middle of September around 86. Considerable also was the increase in the production of steel, having risen from 28.46 per cent of capacity in June to 33.42 in July and 42.85 in August. No doubt, a substantial improvement; but it rests primarily upon a pick-up in the consumption industries, with no visible signs that the basic industries are approaching real recovery. Production continues to increase; *but the tempo is slowing up.*

The factors making for this temporary business improvement continue to operate. Inventories are decreasing. The ability of the labor movement to halt nationwide wage cuts thus far and the government's relief and recovery measures have succeeded to a certain extent in preventing a *catastrophic* drop in the purchasing power of the masses like the one we had in 1929-32. With the result that the consumption industries continue on the upgrade, housing construction begins to show signs of revival, heavy industries are thus fed with miscellaneous orders, and the

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contraction of commercial loans by banks seems to have stopped in July, showing since increases in certain spots. These are the favorable factors.

But there are quite a number of unfavorable ones. The agricultural crisis is beginning to make itself felt quite seriously, the most dramatic outward expression being the continuing fall of prices of farm products. Also the decreasing foreign trade resulting from the developing economic crisis in England, France and other capitalist countries. And the hanging threat that fascist war aggression will be extended to central Europe is on the whole aggravating the economic situation.

Internally, the sabotage of big business continues to be one of the most serious obstacles to recovery. This sabotage is taking now somewhat different forms, but is effective just the same. *We must try to see these somewhat different forms.* Last year, as the crisis was maturing, the monopolies were sabotaging by hastening the coming of the crisis and aggravating its course in the initial stages. This is manifestly not the way they are sabotaging now. Now the trick seems to be *to operate from hand to mouth* —filling orders, like the grocer around the corner, just as they come in from miscellaneous sources. No serious replacements, no extensions whatever. This we have foretold in our July analysis. Another trick of sabotage seems to be the reverse of big business tactics on the eve of the crisis but with the same effect. Then, it will be recalled, big business was precipitately laying off large masses of workers at the first sign of economic difficulty, thus hastening and aggravating the crisis. At present big business *sabotages reemployment,* calling back to work the very minimum of its laid-off workers, making this minimum do all the available work *by lengthening hours and increasing speed-up.*

In its regular survey of earnings and hours, the National Industrial Conference Board (a big business research outfit) reports that the average of weekly earnings rose from $23.74 in June to $23.92 in July. But *hourly* earnings decreased from 71.9 to 71.3 cents. Important here is the tendency which expresses the fact that big business tries to meet the needs of improved business, not by recalling to work the *maximum* necessary number of workers, but by increasing the hours and speed-up of the very *minimum.* Thus, we have longer hours and decreasing hourly earnings. *Thus, we have big business sabotage of recovery by sabotaging re-employment.*

In other words, last year big business sabotage was hastening and aggravating the crisis. At present big business sabotage is undermining the temporary business improvement and is *hampering the coming of recovery.*

And to achieve these aims, big business has still another trick. It is to provoke conflict with labor, to sharpen them, to bring about economic dislocation and political difficulties for the camp of democracy, especially on the eve of the election. We signalized this danger months ago, advocating the policy of the democratic front as the best way of meeting this and similar dangers. To the extent that labor and the

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other democratic forces are applying the essentials of such a policy, the danger is being met effectively, but is not totally obviated, of course. The danger is ever present. We saw it rising in California, big business attacking labor (by lock-outs and otherwise), seeking to provoke a sharp conflict. This provocation, just as an earlier one in Maytag, Iowa, is a stab in the back of the current business improvement as well as a political maneuver of big business reaction to confuse the political situation and divide the progressive forces. It is now being met well by the progressive forces, among which the unions of the C.I.O. display exemplary initiative. It will be defeated by the consistent application of, and determined struggle for, the policy and program of the democratic front throughout the country.

Another unfavorable factor in the economic situation is our government's lack of consistency (to say nothing more) in the application of its good neighbor policy to Mexico and Latin America generally. American trade with Mexico is dropping disastrously, and that does not help the fight of the progressive forces in the United States for recovery. It makes it more difficult. One can say, of course, that the economic crisis in Mexico is responsible for the drop in American trade with that country. But what was it that aggravated the crisis there, creating additional economic difficulties for mutual trade by wrong political policies? The boycott of the monopolies against Mexican oil. Discriminatory policies against Mexican silver. Sharp diplomatic notes by our state department, which strain the good relations between the two countries, while endangering the positions of the United States in all other countries of Latin America. All this hits directly at the prospects for recovery in the United States.

It is quite obvious that if the American government does not rapidly improve its relations with Mexico, all the hopes of helping to build up the buying power of the Latin American peoples, thus helping American recovery, will come to nought. Having all this in mind, we can better appreciate the tremendous importance of John L. Lewis' visit to Mexico in connection with the Latin American Trade Union Congress held in Mexico City in the early part of September, as well as his participation in the International Congress Against War and Fascism held in the same city. As he put it himself, American labor is linking itself up with the workers of Latin America and of the whole world in the fight against fascism, for peace and democracy. And before leaving for the United States, he said at a press interview:

> "At no time in their social development have the people of the United States had a greater need to be a friend of Mexico. I am fortunate in being a personal friend of Mr. Roosevelt, one of the Presidents better understood and most liked by his people. I shall tell him personally the real truth regarding this great opportunity." (September 13.)

This is a sample of the *initiative* which American labor must display more consistently to rally the democratic forces against reaction and fascism at home and abroad. This is also the way of fighting for recovery in the United States.

Lastly, a factor unfavorable in the

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economic situation is the acute relief crisis in most communities. It would require too much space to illustrate the situation in detail. It is bad everywhere. Especially in the industrial states of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania and New York. Official statements in Chicago estimate the city's standard relief budget to be 15 per cent below emergency needs. A mayor's committee in New York reported the relief standards in that city to be 40 per cent below a decent minimum and 15 per cent below an emergency standard. In some of the smaller industrial communities the situation is even worse. This means that large masses of our people have little or no buying power. This means, therefore, that the present business improvement continues to rest upon very narrow foundations in the purchasing power of the masses and that the present business trends may be reversed again at the first serious unfavorable turn in home and world affairs.

Whatever may be the effects of a world war in the coming months upon present economic trends in the United States, the *immediate* danger comes from Chamberlain's policies of letting Hitler take Czechoslovakia "peacefully." If the democratic forces of the world allow Chamberlain's policies to succeed, there can be no doubt that the developing economic crisis in the capitalist countries abroad will deepen and with it the chances for recovery in the United States will be seriously diminished. It therefore follows that in order to take care of the economic problems of the day (as well as to prevent the world war to which fascism is driving), it is necessary to counteract the capitulation policies of Chamberlain and similar elements in other capitalist countries. And it is further necessary that the government put into effect more drastically all those progressive measures which tend to increase the buying power of the people and which can effectively break the sabotage of big business. The program of the democratic front shows the way. This consistent program is incorporated in the election platform of the Communist Party.

* * *

More specifically, attention should be centered on a number of immediate practical propositions.

1. Policies on wages, hours, speed-up and collective bargaining. The no-wage-cut principle must remain in full force, not only because of the business improvement but also as one of the major factors of recovery. Moreover, it becomes possible for the labor movement to project the question of the *restoration of wage cuts* in all industries where cuts have taken place since the beginning of the crisis, and in some spots the question of wage increases is becoming mature. In framing their wage policies, the trade union movement will no doubt also be guided by the fact that unit labor costs have declined about 20 per cent in the first six months of 1938. The index of the National Industrial Conference Board on labor costs stood at 97.4 in June as compared with 117.7 in December, 1937.

A central point in wage policy is the fixing of *minimum* wages at a level consistent with the needs of labor and the demands of recovery.

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The Steel Workers Union of the C.I.O. has done a good job for its industry in the recent hearing before the Department of Labor. And as the machinery for the administration of the Wages and Hours Law is being established (a commission has already been formed for textile), the opportunity is being created for raising the wages of the lowest paid workers and correspondingly to push forward, by means of collective bargaining, the wages of the better paid workers though not with the same uniformity. The raising of wages in the South is a major phase of this work as a means of realizing the President's objective of raising the standards of the South as a whole.

Particular importance is attached at present to the question of shorter hours and reduced speed-up. The sabotaging policy of big business is to meet the needs of improvement in business with a minimum of workers, employed at a maximum of hours with increasing speed-up. The effects of this policy are: intensified exploitation of the employed workers, sabotage of re-employment, obstruction of recovery. This must be resisted most strenuously. And the answer to this is shorter hours and reduced speed-up without decreases in wages. In collaboration with all democratic forces, labor can effectively tackle this problem through collective bargaining, through the administration of the Wages and Hours law and by new legislations in the coming Congress.

In connection with the problem of strengthening the unions for collective bargaining, the situation is becoming more favorable for various organizing campaigns to bring the unorganized into the unions and to strengthen the organizations internally. Here a major task is to unite all labor and other progressive forces *to meet and defeat the big business conspiracy to destroy the Wagner Act.* As is well known, the campaign against the act and against the National Labor Relations Board is led by the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce assisted by the Republican Party and reactionary Democrats.

The splitters and reactionaries in the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. are in substance, though not in form, carrying on the same campaign, as they are seeking to drag the A. F. of L. into the camp of political reaction and against the New Deal. It is necessary to show to the membership of the A. F. of L. that, whatever fine distinctions Green may be trying to draw between his brand of opposition to the Wagner Act and that of big business, the effect of Green's opposition is to strengthen the conspiracy of big business for the destruction of collective bargaining. And to the extent that this conspiracy is permitted to succeed, it will hurt the A. F. of L. just as much as the C.I.O., and perhaps more so.

2. Price policies, cost of living and farm demands. Here is a complex of questions to which labor must now pay the greatest attention because in it are tied up the political relations of the working class with the farmers and middle classes. A superficial view of the trend of food prices may tend to make labor feel satisfied because the tendency is still to decrease, retail food costs having dropped 2 per cent

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between July 12 and August 16. But behind this drop stands the fact that it was accomplished largely at the expense of the farmers, with the food monopolies (not the consumers) capitalizing most on the drop in farm prices. Here a strain has been set afoot which is not healthy for the relations between the workers and farmers. Moreover, as the protests of the farmers against low prices for their products become stronger, the food monopolies will try to come to an understanding with the farmers at the expense of the consumers, thus reversing the present trend of retail food costs. What is the answer?

Labor must take the *initiative*. The aim should be to create a united front of labor, farmers and middle class people against the food monopolies to assure higher prices to the farm producer and maintain low prices for the mass of consumers *at the expense* of the profits of the food monopolies, taking care of the interests of the small merchants. This should be done especially in the communities and in the various states of the *industrial regions* of the country.

Nationally, the central task is to assist the farmers in getting the New Deal agrarian legislation *liberalized and democratized*. This is a burning need of the mass of the working farmers in the face of the agricultural crisis and falling farm prices. Already the Republican Party is making desperate efforts to exploit the difficulties of the farmers and the serious inadequacies of the New Deal legislation to split the farmers from labor and to corral them into the camp of reaction. With unrestrained demagogy and deceit, reaction promises the farmers world markets (which do not exist) and better home prices at the expense of labor. It is labor's task to join with the farmers to beat back the offensive of pro-fascist Republican Party reaction (and its allies, the reactionary Democrats) and to force a liberalization and democratization of the New Deal agrarian legislature. Production control must be so administered as to protect the small farmer from destruction as a commercial producer which can be done in part by proper acreage allotment. The Surplus Commodity Corporation must become *a major agency*, enabled financially and otherwise to buy up surplus farm commodities for relief distribution as well as for granting large-scale commodity loans to such countries as China and Spain and certain countries of Latin America. Working farmers must be enabled to secure employment on public works at wages similar to W.P.A. but without being forced to lose their status as producing farmers. Finally, the principle of price-fixing and price control on the basis of cost of production must be introduced but under *democratic supervision* of farmers and consumers. And while there is a contradiction between the principle of production control as now practiced and the principle of price control on the basis of cost of production, yet this contradiction *is not irreconcilable*. A way can and must be found to reconcile or satisfy the essentials of both in order to maintain the unity of the mass of the farmers (small and middle) and their collaboration with labor and all progressives.

3. The relief crisis. This must be

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attended to at once. The program of the Workers Alliance, supported by the labor movement, by sections of farmers and other progressive forces, would meet the immediate needs. Its recent national convention will no doubt stimulate the getting together of all democratic forces behind an effective program on this vital point as well as the further organization of the unemployed.

4. Old-age pensions and social security. We have already discussed in the foregoing the immediate and vital necessity of satisfying the demands for old-age pensions. The whole Social Security Act has to be broadened, the benefits under it increased and its operation hastened. President Roosevelt, in his speech on August 14, endorsed these general propositions, and the administration is reported to be preparing amendments to that effect. Public opinion must be mobilized in favor of truly *adequate* amendments and the whole question must be made a major issue in the fight to defeat reaction in the coming elections.

5. Anti-monopoly policies. The National Economic Committee, in charge of the monopoly investigation, is still organizing itself. It may begin its hearings in October. Clearly, this is an opportunity for labor, the farmers, the middle classes and all progressive forces to present *the people's case against the monopolies.* And for this they must prepare themselves properly and thoroughly.

What the people want is relatively plain. They want to limit the power of big business in the economy and government of the country. Of this there can be no doubt. The demand assumes immediate urgency in view of the crisis, the sabotage of big business and its leadership in the offensive of pro-fascist political reaction, and the need of breaking that sabotage in order to fight more effectively for recovery, democracy and peace. And this, therefore, is the general framework within which the people's case against the monopolies has to be presented to the hearings of the Economic Committee.

Press reports of September 14 indicate that the committee has issued subpoenas to a group of big banks (Morgan, Guaranty Trust, Seligman, First National and others) seeking to investigate "the record of proxy solicitations in the battle waged last spring over control of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway between a group of local banks on the one hand and the interests of Robert R. Young and Allan P. Kirby, of Alleghany Corp., on the other" (*The New York Herald-Tribune*). This may be a good opening for probing into the more fundamental question of big business domination over the economy of the country generally. Because what this little "incident" discloses (nothing new) is that the big banking monopolies are not just "bankers" and "money lenders" even though they may call themselves by the modest name of "private bankers," as the House of Morgan does. No, these banking monopolies are centers of finance capital, a merger of finance and industrial capital (Lenin), controlling and dominating the economy and politics of the country. These are the aggregations of big capital which determine the sabotaging policies of the country's heavy industries, thus hampering recovery. These are

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the basic forces that promote pro-fascist reaction in the country subsidizing such Democrats as George and Tydings as well as the Republican Party. These are finally the oppressors and destroyers of their weaker competitors and smaller business men.

The people want the power of these finance monopolies curbed and limited. The people's case against the monopolies must therefore be so presented to the hearings of the Economic Committee, *and as a major issue in the elections.* In accord with this, the democratic front program calls for *the nationalization of the banks and railroads under democratic management,* in addition to other measures discussed in the foregoing.

Communist Party organizations will of course take note of all the newer elements in the economic and political situation to sharpen up and further concretize the people's demands in the elections. They will do so in order more effectively to expose the demagogy of the reactionaries and to help unite more firmly the camp of progress and democracy. They will do so, furthermore, in order to display their initiative, to continue to prove in deeds their indispensability to the cause of the people, bringing forth the independent role of our Party as the most consistent fighter for the democratic front—for jobs, security, democracy and peace—because it is the Party of Communism, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, building our Party among the masses to insure victory over reaction and the continuing progress of our class and people.

THE significance of the renomination of Tydings in Maryland and George in Georgia cannot be correctly assessed merely by the use of such terms as victory or defeat. Of course, these two reactionaries were victorious by the fact alone that they secured renomination. But is that the end of the fight? No, it is just the beginning. True, a rather late beginning on the part of the President from the point of view of the November elections, but a *mere* beginning just the same. As a matter of strict evaluation, the President's intervention in the Georgia and Maryland primaries couldn't be considered even a battle. It was rather in the nature of a declaration of intentions that the President proposes to fight his reactionary opponents in the Democratic Party *before the people* and for this purpose states the issues and serves notice. The real fight is yet to come. And this means the widest education of the masses in the issues and their organization into a true democratic front.

Mass political education and mass organization—these are the immediate tasks of the progressives everywhere but especially in the Southern states where the mass of the people have been kept down, in ignorance and misinformation, for such a long time. This is not a task that will be accomplished overnight. But with the policy and program of the democratic front, it can and will be accomplished in the not too distant future.

Naturally, a closer examination will have to be made of a number of factors that determined the outcome of the Democratic primaries in these two states. These factors can be placed

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in two categories. One is the nature of the demagogy of the reactionaries and the sources that feed their political machines. The other is the weaknesses in the campaign of the progressive candidates and the attitude of the farmers and middle classes to certain features of the New Deal, of its legislation and especially operation in the localities. We are for the moment especially concerned with the second category of factors. We will list some of them. How good a progressive campaign has Camp made in Georgia? There are grounds to believe that he has not made a very good one. How effective and *adequate* a progressive fight has Lewis made in Maryland? This has to be examined especially from the standpoint that, in communities which are less politically mature and advanced, for a progressive candidate merely to be campaigning under the slogan "I am for the President" or "I am 100 per cent for the New Deal," *is manifestly not enough.*

Why isn't it? First, because many reactionaries are avoiding head-on collisions with the New Deal or with the President's objectives. The reactionaries, especially the reactionary Democrats, even pretend to favor the New Deal and the President's objectives. And in the Republican Party, there is a whole "school" of reactionaries favoring this tactic. In the face of this, it is evidently impossible to expose the reactionaries and to pin them down to their true anti-New Deal position (opposition to its objectives) by merely saying they are not 100 per cent for the New Deal. This they don't deny even. On the contrary, they boast about it. Consequently, the task is to compel a thorough discussion on the methods of the New Deal and *in this way* expose their opposition, not alone to the methods or details, but to the central progressive objectives which the majority of the people favor in a general way.

Possibly some wrong tactical conclusions are being drawn from many of the polls of public opinion. These polls indicate (with all reservations for their limitations) that the majority of the people favor the general objectives of the President while many in this majority do not approve one or another specific measure or act of the administration. From this the reactionaries have (on the whole) drawn the correct tactical conclusions which is to pay lip service to the President's objectives while centering the attack on specific measures. But many of the progressives in the Democratic Party (and outside) seem to be drawing the *wrong* conclusion, which is to talk about the New Deal in general without handling concretely the specific attacks of the reactionaries on specific measures and methods. It is wrong because the tactic of the reactionaries *is not met,* the issues are not joined, and many people remain impressed with the idea that the reactionary candidate is also a New Dealer at heart only a bit more independent than his progressive opponent and more critical of some of the inadequacies of the New Deal. A very dangerous impression.

And this takes us to the second reason why it is not *enough* for progressive candidates merely to campaign on "100 per cent New Deal," especially in communities less politically

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mature and advanced. It is that the record of the administration, not its declarations and objectives but the actual record of accomplishment, has serious inadequacies and shortcomings, *which the masses of the people want corrected.*

Many of these shortcomings lie in the inadequacies of the legislation enacted while others stem from wrong and hostile administration of New Deal measures by people in office who are opposed to the people and the New Deal. This is especially true of the farm measures but not these alone. The people want the New Deal objectives realized but more adequately and liberally.

When, therefore, the progressive candidate fails to examine the *workings* of the New Deal in detail; when he fails to expose its shortcomings and inadequacies and does not champion ways and means of eliminating them; when, in short, he campaigns merely and in general "for a 100 per cent" support of the President, he fails to meet the attacks of the reactionary opponent among the less mature masses, he fails to give voice and progressive expression to the justified grievances and aspirations of the masses, and thus unwillingly weakens the fight against the reactionaries.

We have said it many times before and must emphasize it now. The masses of the people, the overwhelming majority, are determined to hang on with all their might to their achievements under the Roosevelt administration; they will not go back to Hooverism, which means a pro-fascist edition of Hoover. But they need more, want more and are able to get more *by moving forward from present achievements to bigger ones.* And this is the way of the democratic front, the only truly successful way of fighting reaction.

A. B.

An Official Statement of the Soviet Union on

CZECHOSLOVAKIA
AND THE WORLD CRISIS

BY MAXIM LITVINOV

Commissar of Foreign Affairs, U.S.S.R.

One Cent

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DEFEAT THE FOES OF LABOR UNITY! *

BY ROY HUDSON

THE economic royalists of the country are intensifying their many-sided campaign to launch an offensive against the conditions of the masses and to secure a reactionary victory in the 1938 elections. In its efforts to confuse and disrupt the growing unity of the forces of democracy and progress, big business is cleverly combining old with new forms of attack, as is to be seen in the present efforts to disrupt the unions from within and to create and exploit the divisions within the ranks of labor, which is one of the new features of the attack. The question of meeting this offensive of the fascist-minded forces of this country is one of the main problems before labor and all democratic forces, and therefore before the Communist Party.

This campaign is proceeding along many fronts. On the one hand, big business is sharpening up its attack against all New Deal legislation and trying to smear all New Deal forces with Red-baiting, as is to be seen in the proceedings of the infamous Dies Committee and in the recent attacks against the Wagner Act and the American Labor Party in New York.

On the other hand, these efforts are being supplemented by an intensified drive to disrupt and split the trade unions, and thus smash the main support of New Deal legislation and the backbone of the democratic front in this country. These attempts to undermine, weaken and divide the progressive trade unions is widespread. At the present time, the Auto Union has been brought to a crisis by the splitting and disruptive wrecking activities of the Martin-Lovestoneite group.

The unity of the maritime workers, East and West, the very existence of their unions, is being endangered by a campaign of disruption and terror. Efforts have been made to split the C.I.O. forces in California in connection with the state convention of the C.I.O. The American Labor Party in New York has witnessed efforts to initiate internal dissension, and recently, in the powerful progressive painters', hotel, and fur workers' unions in New York, efforts have been made to organize a sharp attack against the progressive forces in these unions.

Merely to state these facts is sufficient to indicate that these developments are not merely isolated incidents, but that the labor movement is confronted with a well-organized offensive and centralized campaign to

* Based on a report to the Political Committee of the National Committee of the C.P.U.S.A., August 19, 1938.

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disrupt, weaken and divide the trade union movement.

There can be no doubt that this whole campaign is in line with the strategy of the employers and that they are the driving force behind this movement, cleverly utilizing, directly or indirectly, all possible forces to carry forward this campaign.

The drive of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to sharpen up its war against the C.I.O. coincides with the campaign to disrupt and weaken the C.I.O. unions from within. Also, an especially important feature of the present situation is the more open collaboration of such A. F. of L. reactionaries as Woll, Hutcheson, Wharton and company, who are trying to utilize their stooge, Green, and the war against the C.I.O. as the means of more open collaboration with monopoly capital and the Tory Democrats and Republicans. These forces also have the direct support of certain sections of the Right-wing Socialists.

Within certain C.I.O. unions, agents of the employers are seeking to crystallize various anti-C.I.O. elements and come forward more openly and aggressively. In this connection, it is important to note that the so-called "Left" attitude of some Socialists towards the C.I.O. tends to become more and more an anti-C.I.O. line, which may bring them into an alliance with anti-C.I.O. elements. Finally, in connection with the forces involved in this whole campaign, we must note the greater utilization of the Lovestoneite-Trotskyite wreckers and their slogans and tactics.

AIMS AND MAIN FEATURES OF THE ANTI-UNION DRIVE

It is becoming increasingly clear to all progressive forces that the objective of this drive is to pave the way for wage cuts by weakening the unions, to secure the defeat of progressive candidates in the elections by further dividing the forces of labor, and to prepare the ground all around for a sharper offensive against labor and the New Deal.

It is important to note the twofold danger that arises out of this offensive of big business. First, that which arises from the attempt to sharpen the division within the ranks of labor, with the central objective of disrupting and smashing the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., concentrating on the latter as the main force in the progressive labor and democratic camp. Then, there is the other danger that arises out of the efforts of certain sections of the A. F. of L. leadership to utilize their war against trade union unity as a means of sharpening up the fight against the New Deal and delivering the A. F. of L. into the hands of the Tory Democrats and the reactionary Republicans.

It is necessary to note a number of the main features of this union-wrecking offensive. First, the slogan under which this campaign is being conducted is "anti-Communist, against Communist leadership and control of the unions; oust the Communists from the leadership and membership of the union." This slogan is put forward without exception in both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions, and is given concreter expression along the following lines:

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First, the reactionary forces endeavor to capitalize upon the grievances of the workers by channelizing their discontent, directing it away from those responsible for the depression, monopoly capital. Thus, in this form, they try to smuggle into the trade unions the slogan of the economic royalists: "Roosevelt and the C.I.O. are responsible for the crisis." They try to hide the sit-down strike of big business and, by undermining the prestige and authority of the progressive trade union leadership under cover of "militant slogans," weaken the fight of the unions against the effects of the depression.

Second, while big business openly tries to prevent unity of the progressive forces upon the political field, their stooges within the trade union movement attempt to achieve the same purpose with their "Left" slogans and opposition to alliances between labor and the progressive forces in the Democratic and Republican Parties by advocating a "pure" labor party or openly opposing Labor's Non-Partisan League or accepting it in order secretly to sabotage the carrying through of its policies.

Third, while attacking the unions or their leadership as Communistic, big business, from the outside, through their stooges, attempts to develop dissension within the unions around the slogan, "Drive the Communists out of the unions." From outside, the bosses attack the unions as being radical; within the unions, their agents attempt to create disruption by attacking the Communists because they are not radical enough and by attacking progressive trade union leaders for failing to join in a war with the Reds. The disruptive forces within the unions have as their main slogan, "The Communists are not Reds, not militant and progressive but are becoming conservative and stooges of Stalin," etc.

Fourth, these reactionary forces attempt to utilize all the difficulties placed by the enemy in the path of the C.I.O. in order to develop an anti-C.I.O. campaign.

Fifth, they attempt to combine confusion with violation of democracy and the use of open terror and gangster tactics against all progressive forces.

Finally, they attempt to further their campaign of disruption by distorting and misquoting the policies of the Communist Party in order thereby to try and arouse distrust of the Communists as to their methods and purposes, thereby weakening the collaboration of all progressive forces within the union.

The above, in a general way, outlines the "program" brought forward by these agents of the employers in each given union. We can say that this "program" constitutes the concrete application of the anti-Communist slogans of Hitler, Mussolini, and the Mikado by the American fascist-minded forces to American conditions and it aimed at getting the democratic forces to split, to fight amongst themselves, and at the same time to deliver a blow against the Communist Party as an important section of the progressive camp.

We must also note that this movement embraces all the old enemies of progressive unionism, together with new allies, and that these forces rely upon and utilize new forms of Red-

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baiting and so-called "Left" attacks as their main weapon to weaken and disrupt the trade union movement.

There are certain new features in the fact that these various forces are moving in a common direction and are being cleverly utilized and directed by big business. Generally speaking, until recently, not all of these forces have been united or moving in a common direction, and this is the first time on a wide scale that the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites and their slogans have been utilized to such a full and wide extent by the forces of reaction. It is precisely because big business must develop new forms of attack that these counter-revolutionary wreckers are becoming more useful to, and being more widely utilized by, the employers in their union-wrecking plans. What is new in this? Certainly not the fact that these international agents of fascism are a source of dissension and disruption. What is new is the fact that the slogans of the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites are being widely utilized by all other reactionary forces and that these stool-pigeons of fascism are in some cases directly participating in the wrecking in unions where before they were not a factor and had no kind of basis among the workers.

Does this fact indicate a mass basis among the workers, that the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites have succeeded in winning places where formerly they were completely isolated and had no contacts? No, these agents of the employers are thriving only where confusion develops among the workers and have penetrated and are beginning to play a role in certain industries mainly because the bosses or reactionary elements need to utilize them and make it possible for them to penetrate into these industries and unions.

It is necessary to emphasize all these points, because it is not enough to recognize that this campaign has the support of, and in many cases is directly organized by, big business, but the new weapons being used must be thoroughly understood if the attack is to be defeated.

IS THIS NEW ATTACK A SIGN OF LABOR'S WEAKENING?

Has big business succeeded in getting this campaign under way because labor has suffered a set-back or major defeat, and because there is a decline in the influence of progressive forces, including the Communists? The answer is a categorical "no." It is proved by the following facts: First, in spite of the division in the ranks of labor, the trade union movement up to the present time has succeeded in the midst of a growing crisis in warding off sweeping wage cuts (especially in the basic industries) and also, labor, in collaboration with the organizations of the unemployed, has succeeded in actively defending the interests of the unemployed. Also, for the first time in its history, labor has succeeded, in the midst of widespread unemployment, to retain its membership and make headway in organizing the unorganized.

The participation of labor in the political life of the country has not declined, but, on the contrary, has increased and is playing a more decisive role than ever before. This is reflected in labor's influence, both C.I.O. and A. F. of L., in the passage of New Deal

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legislation in the closing days of Congress, as well as its decisive role in the recent primaries, particularly that of the C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Of equal importance is the fact that, on the one hand, the C.I.O.'s prestige and influence have not declined, but are playing an even more decisive role in the affairs of the nation, continuing to be a central force in the camp of progress and democracy in the struggle against reaction.

At the same time, confronted with the threats of a wage-cutting drive, and in the face of the more open anti-New Deal policies of sections of the A. F. of L. leadership and their efforts to deliver the A. F. of L. in a body to the Tory Democrats and Republicans, there has been in a recent period a wider and growing movement among the A. F. of L. membership and certain sections of its leadership for a policy of unity to prevent wage cuts and defeat the reactionaries in the elections. This growing sentiment of the rank and file of the A. F. of L. for progressive policies and unity—a sentiment that is responsible for the generally progressive course of the A. F. of L. in spite of the machinations of Woll, Hutcheson and Co.—is finding expression on a greater scale than ever before in bringing about unity of action between the C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods for the purpose of maintaining wages and working conditions, to defend the New Deal, and to defeat reactionary candidates in the coming elections.

Thus, while serious major weaknesses still exist and labor has not yet establish real guarantees that alone can defeat reaction and block the fascist forces, nevertheless, in the present situation, labor has resisted with considerable success the efforts of finance capital to utilize the crisis as the basis for a major attack against it and the democratic movement. The intensified attacks now launched by reaction do not arise out of the fact that labor has suffered a set-back, but because big business has not been able to divide the forces of labor and disrupt the democratic front, and monopoly capital has been forced to develop new methods of attack in this situation.

It is equally true that the influence of the Communist Party and its activities for the strengthening of labor and the democratic front have not declined. On the contrary, during the recent period, we have witnessed the growth of the Party greater than ever before. Our activities have expanded manyfold, strengthening our relationships with the progressive forces in the trade union movement and the political field.

Thus, we can say that these attacks come, not as a result of the weakening, but of the strengthening of the progressive democratic forces.

WHAT ENABLES REACTION TO FURTHER ITS CAMPAIGN?

One of the major factors that made it possible for the forces of reaction to strike some roots and create some confusion in certain industries was the insufficient political experience of large masses of workers, many of them new to the labor movement. The fact remains that thousands and even millions of American workers have for the first time been confronted with an attack cloaked under new methods of Red-baiting and are having their first

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experience in a practical manner with the disruptive, wrecking activities of the Lovestoneites and Trotskyites. Furthermore, this situation amongst the broad rank and file of the trade unions is reflected among important sections of progressive leaders who were first caught off guard by the form of the attack and were unable to see clearly that the real purpose of the attack was not against Communism but against the trade unions and those conditions won and established by the workers, and, therefore, these sections of the leadership for a while remained passive, neutral or indifferent towards the attack. Thus, we can see that this whole period constitutes an historical experience in the development of the class-consciousness of the American workers.

Third, it must be noted that, while the Communists alone could not in this situation have everywhere succeeded in helping mobilize the workers, clarify the issues, and help immediately to check the development of this disruptive campaign, nevertheless, in some places, conditions were favorable and the Communists were in a position to help the workers achieve this objective, yet they were not able to do so mainly because there prevailed a general underestimation of the class enemy's resourcefulness. This underestimation, reflected in many Communists, led to overconfidence in the strength and position of the progressive forces, and to the failure to see the possibilities of the enemies of trade unionism successfully developing new forms of attack and the utilization by the employers of the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites and their disruptive slogans. This underestimation led to the failure to understand immediately the nature of the attacks when they were developing and to study how effectively to combat the campaign launched against the unions. Hence, the Communists were not always and everywhere in a position to convince the masses of the rank and file and other progressive leaders within the unions as to the purpose of the attack and the people who were behind the attacks.

The quickness with which this new offensive crystallized, and the new methods of attack make it somewhat like a new disease that has arisen overnight to plague all of labor; and while it cannot long seriously effect the patient it may cause the labor movement serious temporary difficulties. The results of this offensive have been magnified by the press, particularly by the *New York Post* and the *World-Telegram,* which thus seeks to create a feeling of panic and the demobilization and disorganization of the progressive forces. Nevertheless, the critical situation that exists in the auto and marine unions shows the need for the labor movement to give grave consideration to this new disease and to take drastic measures to root out the cancer and prevent it from affecting the whole body.

On the other hand, despite the newness of the attack, the experiences in the Painters' Union, the Hotel and Restaurant Union, the Office Workers Union, and a number of other unions, where a resounding defeat has already been delivered to these reactionary forces grouped around the slogans of the Lovestoneites and Trotskyites, show that, where the progressive leadership is clear and united, the workers

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can be mobilized to defeat their enemies. Furthermore, it is especially important to emphasize that a turning point is being reached in the struggle against this new offensive of the employers and against the wrecking activities of the Lovestoneites and Trotskyites. No doubt, history will record that the trials of the suspended officers of the Auto Union in Detroit mark the turning point, and that these trials will have helped to make clear to the American labor movement the meaning of the anti-Communist slogans and the wrecking activities of the Lovestoneites and Trotskyites.

A TURNING POINT THAT MARKS GREATER UNITY OF PROGRESSIVE FORCES

Up until recent months, the struggle against the reactionary forces behind these anti-Communist slogans never became a serious problem, except from time to time in a number of isolated industries. Consequently, the struggle that took place in these industries never became serious enough to affect or concern wide sections of the labor movement and its leadership. Also, it must be noted that previously, when these struggles took place, there did not exist a strong progressive trade union movement of which the C.I.O. is the basic force.

But now there is a different situation. First, important sections of the trade union movement are conscious of the fact that they are not confronted with isolated struggles in various industries, but with an organized and centralized campaign of disruption that is already threatening many important unions and is aimed at the trade union movement and the forces of democracy as a whole.

This whole question is dramatized by the situation in the Auto Workers' Union, where, not only the existence of the Auto Workers' Union is threatened, but where many progressive forces understand that the outcome of this situation will have the most serious effect on the political situation both in Michigan and nationally, as well as on the relationship of forces in the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. On the other hand, the exposure of the connection of Lovestone with his mouthpiece, Martin, clearly establishing that the so-called "war against the Communists" is a smokescreen to hide union-wrecking activities and that the grave and critical situation in the Auto Workers' Union is a result of the Lovestone wrecking policies, serves to make clear what has happened in auto and who is responsible, and establishes the source of the disunity within the union.

These trials directly serve as a political education to the American working class and its progressive leadership, helping them to understand the purpose of the anti-Communist slogans and the role of the international agents of fascism, the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, as wreckers of the American trade union movement. There can be no doubt that important and decisive sections of the trade union movement and its leadership are already drawing fundamental conclusions from the problems existing in a number of important unions, especially the auto situation.

This is of tremendous importance because the fact remains that up until recently the weakness of labor in the face of this intensified offensive was that only the Communists clearly and

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fully understood the purpose of the anti-Communist slogans and the role of the Trotskyite-Lovestoneite wreckers, while important sections of the trade union movement thought that the offensive launched under the cover of "Fight the Communists" was not directed against the trade union movement and at best was merely a "factional" fight between the Communists and the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites. Even where some trade union leaders began to understand otherwise, they hesitated to take up the struggle against these forces for fear they would be charged with "siding with the Communists." Ever wider sections of the trade union membership and their leaders now understand that such a position only plays into the hands of the reactionary forces.

Thus, we can say that out of the very attacks launched against the trade unions, there is already a strengthening of the progressive forces, cooperating on a higher plane than in the past, and that if the fundamental conclusions which the present situation teaches are fully grasped by wider sections of the progressive forces, it will lead to a more effective fight for unity of the labor movement and guarantee the defeat of finance capital's attempts to smash the C.I.O. and all trade unions, and help secure the exposure and isolation of the agents of big business, the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites.

Moreover, if the offensive of finance capital is to be smashed, if reaction in the elections is to be defeated and the democratic front built, then not only must the campaign of disruption and wrecking, aimed first of all at the C.I.O., be checkmated, but the resistance of the A. F. of L. leadership to the unity proposals of the C.I.O., and the plot of the stooges of the Liberty League in the A. F. of L. Executive Council to deliver the A. F. of L. to the reactionary Democrats and Tory Republicans must be smashed. It is high time that those leaders of the A. F. of L., and the millions of their membership who are supporters of the New Deal, clearly recognize that the most vicious enemies of the C.I.O. and labor unity, Messrs. Woll, Hutcheson, Wharton & Co., who are trying to deliver the A. F. of L. into the camp of reaction and fascism, are also the enemies of the A. F. of L. If these sections of the leadership really have the interest of the A. F. of L. and the New Deal at heart, if the broad masses of the A. F. of L. are to defend their great organization, then they must take such steps as will bring about unity with the C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods in support of New Deal legislation, especially the Wagner Bill and the Wages and Hours Bill, to secure the election of progressive Congressmen and Senators, and to break the resistance of the Executive Council to the unity proposals of the C.I.O. From the point of view of defeating the offensive of reaction, the question of mobilizing the A. F. of L. membership against the anti-New Deal and anti-labor unity policies of the reactionaries in the Executive Council becomes of equal importance with that of maintaining and strengthening the unity of the C.I.O.

These are the main conclusions to be drawn by all progressive forces from the present situation, and which the Communists must help make clear

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to the entire trade union movement. In helping further advance the struggle for trade union unity and the fight against reaction, a number of other important points should also be stressed.

MAJOR TASKS BEFORE ORGANIZED LABOR

First and foremost in defeating the efforts of reaction to confuse and divide the workers, the effective application of a correct united front policy is vital because this is the road to labor unity. Any tendencies to feel that where there are no organized groups or parties in trade unions, therefore there is no one to have a united front with must be rejected. The very essence of Communist work and leadership among the masses, especially in trade unions, must be the ability to recognize and understand the various tendencies among the workers and the different levels in their understanding and to know how to unite the mass of workers around a common program and a leadership that is representative of the whole. This means that the progressive forces in the unions and the leadership have the responsibility of drawing into the leadership all honest, constructive elements, including spokesman of minority tendencies. This is the way to draw all sections of the workers closer to the union, to educate them, and to prevent them from falling victims to the disruptive forces. Directly connected with this is the need for systematic educational work, explaining the policies of the union and the problems confronting labor and democracy in the United States, especially aimed at reaching the many thousands of workers who, in many industries, have been recently drawn into the labor movement. The problem of reaching these sections of the trade union membership and bringing their level of understanding up to that of more advanced sections of the rank and file is essential to preventing the reactionary forces from creating confusion and getting a mass base among the workers. Also, it is necessary to bear in mind what are the issues and policies which make possible collaboration between various forces and to guard against matters of secondary importance becoming sources of friction and antagonism, jeopardizing the working together of all progressive forces for common major objectives. Finally, maintaining the closest possible contact with the rank and file, knowing what their problems and grievances are, and reacting quickly to these problems, thus preventing reactionary forces from demagogically becoming the "spokesman" of the workers' grievances for the purpose of creating dissension, is, while elementary, a point that must not be forgotten, especially in view of the "progressive" cloak with which the reactionaries try to hide their wrecking activities.

The constant improvement of the work of individual Communists among the masses, the building of the Party, the strengthening of the work of our Party organizations, and the promotion of a wider circulation of our press, become more than ever central tasks, the realization of which proceeds far too slowly. On the one hand, the very nature of the attack against the unions necessitates the most rapid, but careful, carrying through of our decisions calling for

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the abolition of general fractions in democratic, progressive unions. Communists can most effectively contribute towards defeating disruptive forces, not by relying upon old methods of fraction work, which too often arouses distrust of other progressive forces, but by learning how to do more effective work through strengthening our collaboration with other progressive forces in the trade union movement.

Finally, the weak independent activity of many lower Party organizations, the inadequate mass popularization of the policies and program of the Communist Party, which too often in the past has made it possible for reactionary forces, especially the Lovestoneites and Trotskyites, to arouse distrust and confusion by distorting and misrepresenting our policies (with their slanders often going unchallenged), must receive the most serious attention, aimed at strengthening the leadership of the Party branch organizations and improving their functioning.

Just Out!

THE PERIL OF FASCISM

The Crisis of American Democracy

BY A. B. MAGIL AND HENRY STEVENS

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POLITICAL FORCES AND ISSUES

Prepared by the Educational Department of the National Committee C. P. U. S. A.

"Precisely in the present situation, when the most reactionary section of the American bourgeoisie will try in every way to utilize the crisis for a terrific attack upon the living standards of the masses of the people, upon the democratic rights of the people, in order to bring about the victory of reaction and fascism, it is necessary to mobilize the broadest masses of the people around the progressive program of struggle against trustified capital, against the forces of reaction and fascism. This program, around which the democratic front could be organized, would include the following as its chief measures:

"a. To protect and improve wages, hours and working conditions, and to further the development of labor's organizations, by giving support to the working class in its day-to-day struggles and by defending its interests through legislation.

"b. To utilize the nation's available wealth for providing work or relief for the jobless, and to promote socially desirable projects, and to improve and extend social insurance and security, unemployment relief, old age pensions, for relief, etc., *financed by taxation based upon ability to pay,* especially by a sharp increase of the income tax in the higher brackets.

"c. To defend and extend the democratic rights of the people, to promote national unification and to limit the power of big capital in the government and economy of the country through curbing the autocratic power of the Supreme Court, through legislation against the trusts and monopolies, stock exchange control, nationalization of banks, railways and munitions, moratorium on debts for farmers and small property owners, price regulation under democratic control, public and cooperative marketing, improvement and democratization of the agricultural and farm measures, etc.

"d. To promote concerted action with the democratic peoples and governments of the world in order to halt and isolate the fascist war-makers, to assist their victims and to guarantee world peace." *

THE Communist Party, in its National Congressional Election Platform** for 1938, puts forward a series of planks designed to meet the immediate burning needs of the American people: jobs, security, democracy and peace. The comparative survey which follows sets forth the positions of the various political forces in the current election campaign—those on the side of progress and those on the side of reaction—in regard to these vital issues.

* *Resolutions of the Tenth Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A.*, pp. 6-7, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

** For all references to this platform, read *Communist Election Platform 1938*, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

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I. PUT AMERICA BACK TO WORK! SPEED RECOVERY!

The issue of recovery is today the central issue affecting millions of the American people. It is the touchstone by which all political parties and groupings are tested and which determines whether they belong to the camp of progress or the camp of reaction. It is the material basis of struggle for the preservation and extension of democracy.

The Communist Party formulates this issue for the election campaign in the first plank of its election platform, *Put American Back to Work! Speed Recovery!*

The six points of this plank call for amending the Fair Labor Standards Act to establish a six-hour day, five-day week, and for extending it to cover all workers; for extending and developing W.P.A. and P.W.A. into a long-range program of socially necessary public works and cultural projects covering all the unemployed; for a five billion dollar public housing program; for a federal system of relief, unemployment insurance, and public works guaranteeing adequate minimum standards; and for the guaranteeing of union rates, working conditions and collective bargaining in all spheres of employment, and the abolition of the wage differential between North and South.

Where do the American political parties and groupings stand on these vital issues?

An examination of the stand of these political parties and groupings on the issues formulated in Plank I of our platform reveals two distinct camps:

PROGRESSIVE

1. The *New Deal Democrats:* Have declared as their objective, measures which would put America back to work and speed recovery. However, the actual bills advanced by them fall short of these objectives, as indicated by the amendments proposed in our plank.

They have worked for the enactment of the Wages and Hours Bill; supported the President's relief and recovery program; favored large-scale slum clearance and low-rent housing for the low-income groups (Hopkins looks toward the ending of all direct relief for employables in favor of an expanded works program), upheld the record of the National Labor Relations Board and the right guaranteed by law to labor under the Wagner Act, and opposed wage reductions as endangering recovery.

2. *Labor's Non-Partisan League:* The League and its affiliates conducted a sharp campaign for passage of the Wages and Hours Bill at the last session of Congress;

REACTIONARY

1. The *reactionary Democrats:* Definitely oppose any genuine program of recovery. While trying to exploit the issue, by putting up all sorts of schemes, they have fought the President's concrete measures for bringing about recovery.

They (Garner, O'Connor, George, Tydings, etc.) attack the Wages and Hours Bill as unconstitutional and as precipitating more unemployment, tried to amend the measure to death, and fought bitterly to include wage differentials between the North and South.

They attacked the President's recovery program as "pump-priming," brought forward one crippling amendment after another, charged that the program would destroy business confidence and bring about inflation. Their opposition to the recovery program became so bitter on some scores that it approached filibuster proportions. They favored slashing the relief rolls and fought the Wagner Act tooth and nail, demanding Congressional investigation of the

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PROGRESSIVE (*Continued*)

supported the President's relief and recovery program, and asked for larger appropriations for direct relief and W.P.A. projects; advocated jobs for all who need jobs, at socially necessary and productive projects—housing, flood control, building of schools and hospitals, etc.; applauded the passage of the housing section of the President's recovery program over all efforts made to hamstring it; called for adequate relief for all unemployed workers; conducted a vigorous campaign for enactment of the Walsh-Healey amendments requiring all firms contracting with the government to comply with the Wagner Act; and took a resolute stand against wage cuts in the railroad industry or in industry generally.

3. The *Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota:* Its 1938 platform calls for an adequate Wages and Hours Bill, the continuation of P.W.A. and the continuation and extension of W.P.A. at union wages, and slum clearance and low-cost housing programs for farm and city. It opposes throwing the relief burden back on the local communities and proposes that increased responsibility for relief expenditures be carried by the federal and state governments, to be paid for by a tax on the profits of monopolies. It pledges full support to labor in its right to organize and bargain collectively and in its struggle to better working conditions. It condemns the industrial spy system and urges legislation against it.

4. The *American Labor Party of New York:* The American Labor Party handbook calls for wages high enough to give a decent livelihood and a share in the products of industry to every family, and hours short enough to spread the work and to give everyone adequate leisure. It pledges to work for new housing for slum dwellers and for a more uniform participation of the city and federal governments in large-scale housing projects. The American Labor Party sponsored in the New York City Council Mayor LaGuardia's plan to rehouse 200,000 families in the next ten years. It calls for steadfast maintenance of decent standards of relief. It endorses the right to organize and bargain collectively. The American Labor

REACTIONARY (*Continued*)

N.L.R.B. and the cutting of its funds. The reactionary Democrats in the House Rules Committee saw to it that the Walsh-Healey Amendments never came out on the floor of the House.

In those states where the reactionary Democrats were in control, they brought about mass starvation. A striking example is Ohio, where Governor Davey sabotaged the Federal Relief program, creating a situation of mass misery reminiscent of the Hoover days .

2. The *Republican Party:* Definitely opposes all measures of recovery. It fought the Wages and Hours Bill through motions to recommit, through pressure for including wage differentials, and through attempting to keep it locked in the House Rules Committee. The "liberal-face" Republicans (such as Barton) protested they were not opposed to the "principle" of a Wages and Hours Bill, but were against setting up another bureaucracy. They suggested a more "simple" bill that would not upset business. This group of "liberal face" Republicans generally attempts to conceal its war against all New Deal measures by attempting to sail under the false flag "of making the New Deal work better." The "conservative" Republicans attacked the Wages and Hours Bill as setting up another gigantic bureaucracy and as hamstringing the economic life of the nation. Both "liberal face" and "conservative" Republicans attacked the President's relief and recovery program as pump-priming and credit inflation; demanded that the budget be balanced, raised a hue and cry about W.P.A. funds being used to buy votes for the New Deal and about "politics" in relief generally; tried to earmark every cent of relief and to allocate the administration of relief to the several states; opposed government housing as being in competition with private construction; and fought the Wagner Act with fury, attempting to amend it at every turn. They demanded that the N.L.R.B. be investigated and the sit-down strike be outlawed.

3. The *National Progressives:* Are definitely opposed to five out of the six points of the recovery plank of our Party platform. They are silent on the sixth point concern-

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PROGRESSIVE *(Continued)*

Party answered a recent curb on picketing by forming a united front on "government by injunction" together with the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. It makes no mention of any stand on W.P.A. and P.W.A.

5. The *Washington Commonwealth Federation:* Its platform calls for minimum-wage maximum-hour legislation; public slum clearance and low-cost housing projects to provide homes for those inadequately housed; useful public works to re-employ all unemployed at union wages; and, when such work is not available, complete unemployment insurance equivalent to the prevailing wage.

The Federation attacked Governor Martin's policy of relief cuts and discrimination and urged a special session of the State Legislature to alleviate relief conditions.

The Federation platform calls for laws to protect the workers in their right to organize, bargain collectively, and strike. It is clearly on record against industrial pay cuts and for defending the wages of the workers against employer attack.

6. *Progressive bloc in Congress:* Calls for a long-range, flexible program of public works to meet such outstanding national needs as slum elimination and low-cost housing and the need for conservation and development of natural resources.

REACTIONARY *(Continued)*

ing minimum wage legislation.

LaFollette opposes the W.P.A. and P.W.A. on the grounds that it keeps millions from productive tasks by relief and various forms of made work, objects to federal housing projects and Washington control as inefficient and interfering with private business, opposes relief as "coddling and spoon-feeding the American people," attacks organized labor by threatening to build "stockades and forts to protect industrious producers from raiding squads."

II. GUARANTEE SOCIAL SECURITY FOR ALL

The American people want and need security. Millions are demanding old-age pensions. Plank II of the Communist Party election platform gives expression to this demand. This plank calls for: amendment of the Social Security Act to establish a unified, federal system of social insurance providing that all categories of workers, farm, domestic, industrial, professional and public employees, and those now unemployed, shall be eligible for unemployment insurance paying a minimum of $15 weekly and covering the entire period of unemployment; all persons 60 years and over shall be eligible for old-age insurance at a minimum of $60 monthly; entire cost of social insurance to be borne by government, trusts, and monopolies.

An examination of the stand taken by the various political parties and groupings on the issue of social security reveals:

PROGRESSIVE

1. *New Deal Democrats:* Recognize that the benefits provided in the present New Deal

REACTIONARY

1. *Reactionary Democrats:* Are in effect opposed to all measures which make possible

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PROGRESSIVE *(Continued)*

law is inadequate. In his August speech on the third anniversary of the Social Security Act, President Roosevelt called for a truly national social security program including all those formerly excluded because of the nature of their employment; for liberalizing and extending the old-age insurance to provide benefits for wives, widows, and orphans; and for a national health program extending to the people of this country more adequate health and medical services. The New Dealers are calling for a higher standard of comfort for the old, declaring the $30 a month maximum inadequate, and a wider margin of protection for the unemployed.

2. *Labor's Non-Partisan League:* Advocates adequate old-age pensions (California chapter); strengthening of social security laws (Connecticut chapter delegation to Governor Cross); and the national offices of Labor's Non-Partisan League heartily endorsed the ten-point legislation program of the liberal bloc in Congress, one point of which called for expansion of the social security system as rapidly as possible to include all population groups not now covered and to include a general federal old-age pension.

3. *Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota:* Its 1938 platform urges more adequate social security measures, unemployment compensation, old-age assistance and mothers' pensions. Governor Benson suggests the following changes be made in the State Unemployment Insurance Act: that strikers be entitled to benefits under the law; that the minimum compensation should be raised from $6 to $8 and the maximum from $15 to $18; and that the waiting period be reduced from two weeks to one.

4. *American Labor Party of New York:* Advocates securing for labor, insurance against involuntary unemployment, suggests amendment of existing old-age pension law to begin operation at 60 years of age.

5. *Washington Commonwealth Federation:* Favors enactment of a national old-age pension sufficient to maintain the recognized American standard of living for the aged. For its own state it favors immediate enactment of any legislation affording adequate

REACTIONARY *(Continued)*

Social Security, by their very attack on the Social Security Bill as unconstitutional.

2. *Republican Party:* Carried on a many-sided campaign to "revise" the Social Security Bill to death. They plugged for repeal of the full reserve plan to make way for a pay-as-you-go policy, for decreasing the payroll tax, for decentralized administration. The "liberal face" Landon, seized with a sudden concern for the American workers, berated the administration for putting over a cruel hoax on the workers in passing the Social Security Bill.

3. *National Progressives:* LaFollette opposes social security legislation, on the grounds that security can be obtained only by multiplying our wealth and its distribution, and on the grounds that such legislation "coddles" and "spoonfeeds" the American people. He pays grandiloquent lip service, however, to security in the obscure future.

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PROGRESSIVE *(Continued)*

pensions for the aged and for all others ineligible for employment.

6. *Progressive bloc in Congress:* Advocates establishment of a system of federal old-age pensions and broadening and improvement of the Social Security Act.

7. The position of the Progressive bloc in Congress is supported in a general way by certain independent Republicans, *e.g.*, Norris: Took the floor in Congress in defense of the Social Security measure as one of the most important pieces of legislation Congress had enacted for years.

III. GUARANTEE THE HEALTH, EDUCATION AND CULTURE OF THE PEOPLE

The demand is growing for a public health program and for a fuller educational and cultural life for the American people. Plank III of the Communist Party election platform calls for: broadening the Social Security Act to include health, maternity, and disability insurance for all the people, free clinics and health centers, federal aid to state and local communities for education, provision for equal aid to both Negro and white schools in the South, legislation to protect and improve the wages and working conditions of women and to establish equal rights for women in all spheres of life; and enactment of the Federal Arts Bill.

Where do the various parties and groupings stand with regard to these issues?

PROGRESSIVE

1. *New Deal Democrats:* Call for a coordinated national health program, government grants for education to those communities which need them most, protection of wages and working conditions of women (supported Wages and Hours Bill which provided for no differentials on the basis of sex; support Social Security legislation providing, though inadequately, for child and mother care), and passage of the Federal Arts Bill.

2. *Labor's Non-Partisan League:* Advocates passage of the Federal Arts Bill. North Carolina Chapter calls for improvement of

REACTIONARY

1. *Reactionary Democrats:* Either ignore these needs of the American people or oppose them as they did legislation to improve the wages and working conditions of women (by fighting the Wages and Hours Bill and the Social Security Act).

2. *Republican Party:* Opposes health insurance (Imrie and the up-state Republicans at the New York State Constitutional Convention), and ridiculed the Federal Arts Bill off the floor of the House. Opposed legislation for women by fighting the Wages and Hours Bill and the Social Security Act.

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PROGRESSIVE *(Continued)*

the public schools and free textbooks, and the abolition of night work for women and children; Indiana chapter election platform calls for an inquiry into cooperative medical and dental services and extension of the school system; the Missouri chapter convention call demands the protection of women in industry.

3. *Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota:* Urges legislation to promote education and equalize educational opportunities; to insure the payment of school aid in full and provide adequate funds for scholarships; proposes improved minimum wage and hour laws for women, together with more adequate health measures for women employed in industry; and more adequate mothers' pensions.

4. *American Labor Party of New York:* Calls for extension and improvement of free hospital facilities and government responsibility for public health; and a great free public educational system as a barrier against fascism. Passed a resolution against cutting expenditures of W.P.A. white-collar projects as a "serious loss to the cultural, education and artistic life of the city," and one for a City Council survey of the need for nursery schools.

5. *Washington Commonwealth Federation:* Calls for extension of the public health service to provide hospitalization, medical and dental treatment free to all school children and families whose annual income is less than $1,500, and for establishment of free city and county health centers for all; its youth section calls for endorsement of the principles of the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education for equalization of educational opportunity; and it favors passage of the Federal Arts Bill. Calls for protection of wages and working conditions of women (support of Wages and Hours Bill and social security legislation).

REACTIONARY *(Continued)*

3. *National Progressives:* Ignore these needs of the American people entirely.

IV. PROTECT THE FARMERS OF AMERICA FROM WALL STREET

Plank IV of the Communist Party platform formulates the measures of relief sorely needed by the farmers. It calls for guaranteeing the small farmers, tenants and sharecroppers the possession of their land; prohibiting evictions and foreclosures for circumstances beyond the farmers' control, government

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fixing of prices based upon cost of production, democratic control of municipal markets and public boards, long-term moratoriums on all needy farmers' debts and government refinancing of the farmers' debts with long-term loans at low interest rates; increased appropriations to the Farm Security Administration for adequate cash relief, tenant rehabilitation and land purchases; amendment of the A.A.A. to protect fully the family-size farms; democratic control by the farmers and their organizations over the A.A.A. and other farm agencies; extension of the Soil Conservation Act; a complete system of federal crop insurance; a graduated land tax; exemption of all homesteads below $5,000 from tax levies; government aid to bonafide producer, marketing and consumer cooperatives.

PROGRESSIVE

1. *New Deal Democrats:* Advocate measures to aid the farmer; offer a measure of relief to large masses of farmers, more to the well-to-do and less to the small farmers, and a measure of protection from the speculators and monopolies; favor soil conservation and crop insurance. The "New Deal" Committee on Farm Tenancy recommends, for the South, government purchase of huge acreages of land from large centralized owners in order to enable tenant farmers to purchase land through long-term loans at low interest. However, the existing New Deal legislation, the A.A.A. and the other farm agencies, need amendment in the interests of the poorer farmers, along the lines followed in Plank IV of the Communist Party platform.

2. *Labor's Non-Partisan League:* Endorsed the ten-point program of the progressive bloc in Congress which called for a simple, direct farm bill to assure the American farmer prices at least equal to his cost of production in the American market, and a national land-use program to include a nationwide soil conservation program. Its Utah chapter calls for exemption of small homes and farms from taxes and reduction of interest rates on farm loans. The California chapter calls for refinancing of farm mortgages on a long-term credit basis.

3. *Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota:* Advocates encouragement of individual ownership of farms and farmhomes by refinancing the farmer at a low rate of interest, and by adopting a program fixing a fair minimum price (based on cost of production); pro-

REACTIONARY

1. *Reactionary Democrats:* Opposed the farm bill on the grounds that it regimented the American farmer (Walsh), put him under orders of a dictator in Washington (O'Malley), and subsidized the inefficient farmer to remain in business. Instead of a farm bill meeting the needs of the farming masses, they proposed various panaceas, such as regulation and control of the currency which they pretend would "automatically" give the farmer a stable income (Gray).

2. *Republican Party:* Condemns the entire farm program as a piece of Roosevelt dictatorship making a slave out of the American farmer and chaining him to the economics of scarcity. Glenn Frank called the farm bill one of the four measures symbolizing the whole drive of the New Deal "toward fascism." The nine-point program of the Republicans for the November campaign (Snell-McNary) comes out against proposals subjecting agriculture "to the compulsory decrees of a Federal Bureaucracy."

3. *National Progressives:* LaFollette attacks the entire agricultural program of the New Deal for its scarcity features. But he offers no program at all to secure land tenure and stabilize a decent income for the mass of the farmers.

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PROGRESSIVE (*Continued*)

visions for financing land purchases by tenant farmers; decentralization of the bureaucratic control of the Federal Land Bank by the Farm Credit Administration, and the restoration to the farm borrowers of the cooperative features of the Federal Land Bank; federal crop insurance on all major farm crops; reduction in freight rates on agricultural products; and a weed control and eradication program.

4. *American Labor Party of New York:* Still lacks a complete program for the farmers. However, it advocates that the city set up a publicly-owned milk plant to act as a competitive yardstick in order to protect the consumer and the farmer from the milk trust which has forced the farmer to carry his milk to a single outlet and to accept the arbitrarily fixed price which it offered to him.

5. *Washington Commonwealth Federation:* Advocates security of tenure for farmers, prohibiting eviction by mortgage foreclosures and the guarantee of maximum returns to the farmers by the subsidizing of cooperative warehouses, canning and farming enterprises.

6. *Progressive Bloc in Congress:* Advocates a simple agricultural bill to put a floor under the price of farm commodities, end gambling and speculation, and effectively assure the farmer cost of production.

V. SAVE THE YOUNG GENERATION

The problem of jobs and opportunity is of the greatest urgency for the young people of America. On its adequate solution depends the confidence or despair of millions on the threshold of American citizenship. Plank V of the Communist Party election platform formulates the measures necessary to: *Save the Young Generation.* It calls for: guaranteeing opportunity, education and work for young America, extension of the National Youth Administration as a permanent agency, expansion of the C.C.C. under civilian administration, coordination of the N.Y.A. and C.C.C. and other youth aid programs under a single youth administration, and passage of the amendment to make child labor unconstitutional.

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An examination of the stand taken on this issue by the various political parties and groupings shows:

PROGRESSIVE

1. *New Deal Democrats:* Advocate jobs and education for the young people, but the actual bills advanced by them are inadequate, as indicated by the revisions proposed in our plank.

2. *Labor's Non-Partisan League:* Supports the American Youth Act. Supports ratification of the child labor amendment.

3. *Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota:* Its 1938 platform calls for: adequate provision for scholarships and youth programs designed to provide our young people with an opportunity for education and employment. The American Youth Act was sponsored by the Minnesota Farmer-Laborite, Lundeen, and endorsed by Governor Benson.

4. *American Labor Party:* Has neglected immediate youth issues; its platform merely calling for "an opportunity for proper training" for the youth. It supports ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.

5. *Washington Commonwealth Federation:* Its youth section lists as its platform for the fall elections: legislation along the lines of the American Youth Administration for jobs and education, end of discrimination against young people on relief and W.P.A.; endorsement of the principles of the report of the President's advisory committee on education for equalization of educational opportunity, for improvement and stabilization of N.Y.A. and C.C.C. under civilian control, and for vocational and library service for rural areas, financial assistance to young people to enable them to marry and establish homes, a program of financial aid to young farmers who wish to get a start on their own land, making discrimination against Negro youth (or any national group) in jobs, education, etc., a crime punishable by severe penalties, abolition of child labor, extension of wage and hour regulation to young people in agriculture and domestic service.

REACTIONARY

1. *Reactionary Democrats:* Completely ignore the needs of the youth.

2. *Republican Party:* Opposes all youth aid measures. It attacks the N.Y.A. and C.C.C. as deadening initiative and promoting dependence on the federal government.

3. *National Progressives:* LaFollette ignores the needs of the young people.

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VI. FULL RIGHTS FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE

It is impossible to safeguard democracy and progress without guaranteeing equality to the Negro people. Plank VI of the Communist Party platform calls for: complete equality for the Negro people; equal rights to jobs and education; equal pay for equal work; the right to organize and live where they choose, to vote, serve on juries and hold public office; for the abolition of segregation and discrimination; for the death penality for lynchers; for the enactment of the Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill; for the enforcement of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.

An examination of the stand taken on this issue by the various political parties and groupings, reveals:

PROGRESSIVE

1. *New Deal Democrats:* Favored enactment of the Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill, but failed to work sufficiently for its passage; no word came from Roosevelt urging its passage; called for a law against racial discrimination (Wagner at the New York State Constitutional Convention), and for initiation of W.P.A. projects to employ Negroes in Virginia (William E. Dodd, Jr.)

2. *Labor's Non-Partisan League:* Supported the Anti-Lynching Bill, calls upon Congress to pass effective laws to safeguard the constitutional rights of all citizens irrespective of race, color, or creed; St. Louis chapter endorsed a Negro out of eleven candidates for the Democratic nomination for state representatives in one district; Kansas City chapter calls for enforcement of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution and for equal rights for the Negro people.

3. *Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota.* Favors enactment of the Anti-Lynching Bill.

4. *American Labor Party:* Advocates an adequate constitutional provision which will prohibit discrimination of any kind because of race, color, nationality or religion. Executive Secretary Rose of the A.L.P. recommends his party as one for the Negro people because it is militantly interested in such things as better housing, the milk problem, and discrimination in public utilities. A.L.P. appealed to Hopkins, Works Progress Ad-

REACTIONARY

1. *Reactionary Democrats:* Opposed to all the measures in behalf of Negro rights. Filibustered the Wagner Anti-Lynch Bill to death in days of slanderous attack upon the Negro people and hypocritical defense of states' rights; attack political and social equality for Negroes, come out for "white supremacy," and stand four-square against recognition of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.

2. *Republican Party:* Helped the Southern Bourbon Democrats defeat the Anti-Lynching Bill. Minority Leader, McNary, alibied that the Republicans could not vote for cloture because this would deny the democratic right of thorough debate. He himself, on fourteen previous occasions, however, either petitioned or voted for cloture. (Cloture would have ended the filibuster and allowed for a vote.)

3. *National Progressives:* Its platform does not mention either specifically or indirectly the Negro people. In his Madison speech LaFollette makes only one indirect reference to the Negro people—by attacking Reconstruction.

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PROGRESSIVE (*Continued*)

ministrator, for continuance of the LaFayette Negro Theatre project, and for broadening of cultural activities in Harlem.

The A.L.P. is on the road to adopting a concrete platform for the Negro people.

5. *Washington Commonwealth Federation:* Opposed to discrimination against the Negro people in their civil liberties or right to a job; favored enactment of the Anti-Lynching bill, Senators Bone and Schwellenbach doing their utmost to end the filibuster. Its youth section calls for legislation making discrimination against Negro youth a crime punishable by severe penalties.

VII. CURB THE POWER OF THE MONOPOLIES! MAKE THE RICH PAY THE COSTS OF THE CRISIS!

In fighting for recovery and curbing the power of the monopolies over the national economy, the American people are not out to destroy large-scale production but to rescue it from the vicious monopoly of Wall Street. Plank VII of the Communist Party election platform calls for: taxation based upon ability to pay; balancing of the budget out of the swollen profits of the economic royalists; repeal of all sale taxes; dissolution of the bread and milk trusts; strict government regulation of the meat packers; repeal of the Miller-Tydings price-fixing act and prosecution of all price-fixing; nationalization of railroads, munitions and banks; abolition of all holding companies and investment trusts; strict federal regulation of the insurance companies and the stock exchange; Reconstruction Finance Corporation (R.F.C.) appropriations to be expended for low interest loans to small business people, and to consumer and bona fide farm cooperatives; denial of loans to big business which violates the Wagner Act and other labor legislation.

An examination of the stand taken on these issues by the various political parties and groupings shows:

PROGRESSIVE

1. *New Deal Democrats:* Roosevelt has come out against price-rigging, unfair competition directed against the little man, and holding company control; for corporate surplus and undivided profits taxes. Ickes (Secretary of Interior) and Jackson (Assistant Attorney General) have scored the extortionate practices of public utility holding companies and the political sit-down strike of the monopolies against the government. Thur-

REACTIONARY

1. *Reactionary Democrats:* Opposed to all measures designed to curb the power of the monopolies. They favor "broadening of the income tax base," that is, increased taxation of the poor, increasing tax levies on the middle brackets, and oppose corporate surplus and undivided profits taxes. They promote the sit-down strike of big capital by attacking the New Deal as "hampering" business.

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PROGRESSIVE (*Continued*)

man Arnold (Assistant Attorney General in charge of anti-trust activities) calls for more adequate enforcement of anti-monopoly laws.

2. *Labor's Non-Partisan League:* Heartily endorses the ten-point legislative program of the liberal bloc in Congress which calls for a tax program based on ability to pay; low taxation on consuming power and active, competitive business; and high taxation on speculation, idle wealth and monopoly; nationalization of the twelve Federal Reserve Banks as a step in restoring to Congress its constitutional right to coin money and regulate its value. Utah chapter calls for exemption of small homes and farms from taxes and reduction of interest rates on farm loans. Missouri chapter demands that public utilities in the state—gas, light, power, water, local transportation—be owned and operated by the people of Missouri. Connecticut chapter calls upon the Governor to reorganize the Milk Control Commission in order to safeguard the farmer and consumer from the monopolistic practices of the milk trusts; feels that the surplus profits and the capital gains tax should not have been revised; and is unalterably opposed to a sales tax.

3. *Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota:* Its 1938 platform advocates legislation by Congress liberalizing R.F.C. loaning policies to permit loans to small business at low interest rates; reduction of taxes on small incomes and small business, taxation according to ability to pay so that wealth pays its proper share; continuance of corporate surplus and undivided profits taxes; no tax exempt securities; passage of the Patman Chain Store Tax Bill; government ownership of Federal Reserve Banks. For legislation by the state it advocates: opposition to all forms of general sales taxes; complete exemption from the state tax levy on homesteads; investigation of tax dodging by corporations and wealthy individuals; and protection of Minnesota business against predatory monopolies.

4. *American Labor Party of New York:* Advocates public ownership of transit, a city-owned milk distributing plant to be used

REACTIONARY (*Continued*)

2. *Republican Party:* Opposed to all measures that have for their aim the limiting of the monopolists' power. The "liberal-face" Republicans (Frank) say they are against both private monopoly and public planning; the "conservative" Republicans (*New York Sun*) deny that monopoly is at all extensive in the United States, and that what monopoly there is has reformed and no longer charges extortionate prices. Both "liberal-face" and "conservative" Republicans, however, oppose corporate surplus and undivided profits taxes, support the sit-down strike of the monopolists against Roosevelt's "ceaseless prejudice and punitive restraint"; favor balancing the budget through curtailing New Deal reforms and through further taxation of the poor; and demand that business be free to adopt whatever policies it chooses respecting wages, hours, prices, and profits without government interference.

3. *National Progressives:* Governor La-Follette completely absolves the monopolies of any guilt for the economic crisis. He denies that big capital has gone on strike and echoes the cry of the monopolists that they have no "confidence" to carry on production because of Roosevelt interference with business.

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PROGRESSIVE *(Continued)*

as a yardstick against the milk trusts, and a city-owned power plant as a yardstick against the power trusts. Calls for a chain store license tax aimed to strengthen the position of small merchants and curb monopolies; for an amendment to the insurance law limiting the interest rate (now 6 per cent) on policy loans of $1,000 to 3 per cent.

5. *Washington Commonwealth Federation:* Its platform calls for public ownership of all natural resources, public utilities, banks, and monopolies; nationalization of the war industries, taxation based on ability to pay; graduated taxes on high incomes, gifts, inheritances, corporation surpluses, intangibles and public bonds now exempt; abolition of the sales tax.

6. *Progressive bloc in Congress:* Calls for legislation to bring about, through the cooperation of government, business, and labor, a coordinated expansion of industrial production and an effective control over both monopoly price increases and monopolistic curtailment of production of needed goods and services; effective government control over and use of the money and credit system to restore to Congress its constitutional right to coin money and to make the credit of the nation an instrument in the hands of government to be directly employed in breaking the existing credit monopoly, stabilizing the price level, and bringing the total consuming power of the people into line with their power to produce.

VIII. SAFEGUARD AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Democracy or fascism—this is the critical issue of the day. Plank VIII of our platform formulates the measures necessary to defend and make more effective the democratic rights of the people. It calls for: enforcement of the civil liberties guaranteed in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights; enforcement of the Wagner Labor Act; establishment in law of the right to organize, strike and picket; the outlawing of all vigilante, strike-breaking and fascist organizations of big business; passage of a Congressional act to abolish the filibuster and end the arbitrary powers of the House Rules Committee; curbing of the Supreme Court and its usurped power; abolition of the poll tax; freedom of Mooney, the Scottsboro boys; and equal rights for all nationalities.

The line-up of political parties and groupings show:

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PROGRESSIVE	REACTIONARY
1. *New Deal Democrats:* Uphold the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B.; favor the right to organize, strike and picket; condemn government by injunction; advocate reform of the Supreme Court, which has attempted to shackle all New Deal legislation and the very processes of democratic government itself; and attack the autocrats of the House Rules Committee for their attempt to "pickle" New Deal legislation.	1. *Reactionary Democrats:* Oppose all measures for safeguarding American democracy. They worked closely with the Republican Party to defeat the Supreme Court Bill, filibustered the Anti-Lynching Bill to death, attack the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B., favor government by injunction (Hague); declare for the right of a "worker to work"—a euphemism for the open shop, make full use of the National Guard against the labor movement, work through the Rules Committee to choke off all progressive legislation; substitute a scandalous variety of Red-hunt for a serious investigation of fascist activity in the United States (Dies), and deny the Negro people the right to vote and hold office.
2. *Labor's Non-Partisan League:* Recommended for all state legislation a Civil Liberties Act prohibiting local ordinances from denying civil liberties; a State Labor Relations Act; a state Anti-Injunction Act and other legislation designed to guarantee the right to organize, strike and picket. It favored Supreme Court reforms to safeguard New Deal legislation, and steps to curb the autocratic power of the House Rules Committee.	2. *Republican Party:* Stands out as the camp of opposition for democracy. It attacks the Wagner Act as being responsible for the economic crisis; attacks the Labor Board as one-sided and carries on a vicious campaign for its amendment; opposes the New York state anti-injunction law; attacks the sit-down strike as anarchy; urges the use of the National Guard to oust strikers, and encourages the vigilante efforts of big business. The Republican Party worked hand-in-glove with the reactionary Democrats to kill the Supreme Court and the Anti-Lynching Bills, and to strangle progressive legislation in the House Rules Committee. It is significant that numerous Republican candidates receive active support from the Nazi organizations in this country.
3. *Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota:* Its 1938 program favors enactment of the Anti-Lynching Bill and other measures designed to protect the civil rights of the people; pledge full support to the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively; and con demns race-antagonisms, religious prejudices, anti-Semitism, and Red-baiting.	3. *National Progressives:* LaFollette asserts that democracy is "rooted in American abundance," in work. But he omits the crucial point—and thereby confuses the whole issue of safeguarding democracy—that monopoly capital is responsible for keeping millions idle; that it would destroy the people's democratic rights in order to attack their living standards, their very jobs, without fear of powerful resistance.
4. *American Labor Party of New York:* Favors the incorporation of the full Bill of Rights into the basic law of New York state; opposes picketing bans; opposes proposals to appoint judges who are now elected as a blow to democracy; backed fund appropriations needed by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee to continue its investigation of employer efforts to wreck the labor movement; calls for a curb on violence by Nazi thugs; introduced bill in State Legislature to prevent private detective agencies from interfering with the right to organize and strike, from trading in blacklists, from furnishing employers with arms, munitions, and tear gas, and from aiding creation of company unions; officially praised President Roosevelt Court Reorganization program and circulated a petition supporting it.	

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PROGRESSIVE *(Continued)*

5. *Washington Commonwealth Federation:* Its platform reaffirms faith in the democratic form of government; demands that the right of free speech, free press and freedom of assembly be safeguarded ; and that equal political, civil and economic rights be assured for all citizens of the United States. It favors a constitutional amendment granting Congress power to make all laws necessary for the general welfare of the people (a power usurped by the Supreme Court).

6. *Progressive bloc in Congress:* Advocates preservation of American democracy and civil liberties as set out in the Bill of Rights and extending to all persons everywhere in the nation, conservative, liberal or otherwise, and of whatever race, creed or color; liberalization of the rules and procedure of the House of Representatives.

IX. KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR BY KEEPING WAR OUT OF THE WORLD!

It is impossible to consider the domestic issues of America except in the light of the immediate menace of world war. The United States has at once a national interest in world peace and a responsibility for world leadership in organizing world peace. The five fundamental measures of a positive peace policy for the United States are formulated in Plank IX of our election campaign platform: *Keep America Out of War by Keeping War Out of the World!* They are: concerted action with France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and other democratic peoples and governments to halt and isolate the fascist war-makers; opposition to expending billions on armaments as a substitute for concerted action; lifting the embargo on Spain and placing it on all aggressor nations; enactment of the O'Connell Bill; promotion of reciprocal trade agreements with the democracies, especially with the victims of fascist aggression; and the democratic application of a good neighbor policy between the United States and the Latin American countries.

An examination of the stand taken by the various political parties and groupings on the issues formulated in this plank reveals:

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PROGRESSIVE

1. *The New Deal Democrats:* As a whole they have not progressed as far as Roosevelt and Hull. Roosevelt and Hull favor quarantining the aggressor, promoting reciprocal trade agreements and a good neighbor policy. In practice, however, the operative policy of the Administration has not fully realized its expressed objectives of quarantining the aggressor. In demanding that Mexico pay on the spot for American-owned farmland given to peasants, Secretary Hull departed from a good neighbor policy. The President and State Department have refused to lift the embargo on Spain. They failed to ask for revision of the unneutral Neutrality Act (as provided for in the O'Connell Bill), although the President's refusal to invoke the Act against China and Japan was already an admission of the impracticability of attempting to enforce it.

2. *Labor's Non-Partisan League:* No national peace program. Opposed, however, to the Sheppard-May Bill which would set up a dictatorship on the outbreak of war, and in favor of limiting naval appropriations.

3. *Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota:* Its 1938 Convention resolution advocates cooperation with all forces genuinely seeking peace; opposes increased armaments, favors nationalization of all war munitions plants and the drafting of wealth in time of war; it would prohibit the sale of war materials to aggressor warring nations.

4. *The American Labor Party of New York:* Has not formulated a program for peace. The State Committee, however, endorses the Japanese boycott.

5. *Washington Commonwealth Federation:* Proposes an American peace policy in line with President Roosevelt's speech to quarantine the warmakers; favors the immediate

REACTIONARY

1. *Reactionary Democrats:* Oppose concerted action; favor isolation; oppose lifting the embargo on Spain; oppose placing embargo on the fascist aggressors.

2. *Republican Party:* Definitely opposes all measures and policies for the promotion of peace. The nine-point program for the Party in the Congressional elections of 1938 released by McNary and Snell makes no mention of the question of peace. In practice, however, the Republican Party stands for policies that spell aid to the fascist aggressors. Landon and Knox favor "parallel action" with the Tory government of Great Britain, as against collective security with France, the Soviet Union and the other democratic countries. Hoover opposes collective security. He favors neutrality and what has been called "hemisphere isolation." He opposes placing embargoes against aggressor nations. He is against reciprocal trade agreement with the democracies and suggests tariffs which, under the guise of treating all nations alike, would benefit the fascist aggressors. Hamilton Fish attacked the good neighbor policy, terming it a boomerang.

3. *National Progressives:* Favor isolation.

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PROGRESSIVE *(Continued)*

lifting of the embargo on Loyalist Spain, actively pushes the Japanese boycott, favors enactment of the O'Connell Peace Bill for which its Congressional delegation all worked; calls for an embargo on all war materials and on all raw materials used for war purposes, to fascist aggressor nations, and for cooperation with all democratic nations for the defense of international democracy.

* * * *

"The Communist Party, as the Party of socialism, fights for the present and future interests of the working people, and therefore works towards the eventual socialist reorganization of society as the highest form of democracy and human advancement.

"But today the issue is not socialism or capitalism—the issue is democracy or fascism. That is why the Communist Party stands in the front lines of the struggle for security, democracy, and peace. That is why the Communist Party submits this platform as a basis for the program of the democratic front, and completely supports it and participates in the fight for its realization.

"The issue is squarely put: democracy or fascism, progress or reaction. The common people of the American nation 'conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created free and equal' will not abandon our country to fascist degradation of democracy.

"Time is short. History does not wait. The American people, men and women, the workers and farmers, organized and unorganized, the middle classes, all progressives—white and Negro, Democrats and Republicans, Farmer-Laborites, Communists, and Socialists—must join together now for common action:

"For a united people's victory in the 1938 Congressional elections. For united labor and progressive action behind one progressive candidate for each office. For the defeat of reaction at all costs.

"For one common democratic front of labor, the farmers, middle classes and all progressives to defeat the offensive of finance capital, to block the road to fascism and war!" *

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* *Communist Party National Congressional Election Platform, 1938.*

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THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT MOVES AHEAD IN NEW YORK

BY I. AMTER

State Secretary, Communist Party, New York

THE building of the democratic front in the state of New York for the 1938 elections shows a sharp realignment of forces. Following the elections of 1936 and the launching of the American Labor Party as an independent force, and the development of the election struggle in 1937, the building of the democratic front of all progressive forces against the reactionaries has moved ahead very rapidly.

As Comrade Browder declared in his report at the Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party:

"Of central importance is the deepening struggle of progressives against reactionaries within the Democratic Party. . . . Nor is the Republican Party one reactionary mass, as might be concluded if one judged only by its representation in Congress. . . . An outstanding example of this is New York City, where a section of the Republicans and the Communists were united with the American Labor Party behind the reelection of LaGuardia." *

Tammany Hall received a smashing defeat in the municipal elections of 1937. Yet Tammany Hall was not destroyed, since it retained an army of nearly 900,000 voters behind the reactionary candidate of the Democratic Party, Mahoney. But several things have happened since 1937—not only the defeat of the Tammany machine and the election of a progressive municipal government headed by Mayor LaGuardia, but the continual exposures of Tammany graft and corruption, now culminating in the trial of James J. Hines, Tammany chief, and involving former District Attorney Wm. C. Dodge, Magistrates Hulon Capshaw, Francis J. Erwin and others.

REALIGNMENTS ACCELERATED

Within the Democratic Party realignments are taking place in New York, just as they are throughout the country. The clear call of President Roosevelt for rallying the progressive forces within the Democratic as well as the Republican Party for the support of a liberal policy has had its effect in New York. The aim, therefore, of all progressives in the coming Congressional elections is to remove from public office reactionaries both in the Democratic and Republican Parties.

New York City is a stronghold of the Democrats. In upstate New York, that is outside of the five boroughs, the Republicans hold sway, except in certain localities. Thus, in the Albany capital district the reactionary O'Connell Democratic machine has even tighter control than, and is just as cor-

* Earl Browder, *The Democratic Front*. Workers Library Publishers, New York.

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rupt and vicious as the Tammany machine in New York. The aim of the progressives is to remove from public office such reactionaries as the Democratic Congressman, John J. O'Connor, Chairman of the House Rules Committee; and Hamilton Fish, James W. Wadsworth, Robert L. Bacon, John Taber, Republican Congressmen from New York. Within the state, the vicious Red-baiter, State Senator John J. McNaboe, faces the opposition of all progressives, and the most serious efforts are being made to defeat him.

On the other hand, the election of an outstanding progressive, Vito Marcantonio to the U.S. Congres, is accepted as the task of all progressives in the 20th Congressional District. Returning Marcantonio to the U. S. Congress will be a clear confirmation of the democratic front line involving all political groups and nationalities within a Congressional district. Within the same district, the progressives, with the American Labor Party as the center, are uniting for the reelection of Oscar Garcia Rivera, Puerto Rican Assemblyman from Lower Harlem. The unity of the progressive forces around these two outstanding figures in a hotly contested campaign represents the broadest democratic front line yet attained in our state for the defeat of the reactionaries.

ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES INCREASING

The election campaign takes place at a time of serious difficulties within the economic crisis. The State Unemployment Insurance Department reported a short time ago that 1,699,000 persons had applied for unemployment insurance. Considering that domestic and agricultural workers do not come within the scope of unemployment insurance, the number of unemployed must be estimated as far higher. During the month of July there was a general increase of 1 per cent in employment throughout the state and 2 per cent in the payroll. However, in New York City there was a 2 per cent drop in employment and only .01 per cent increase in wages, whereas in the highly industrialized Schenectady-Troy-Albany district there was a 6.6 per cent drop in employment and an 8.5 per cent reduction in payroll. These two adverse situations no doubt were somewhat counteracted by the harvesting season. In general it can be stated that employment in the state in the month of July was, according to official reports, 72.2 per cent, as compared to 1925-27, and payroll figures only 64.9 per cent.

REACTIONARIES UNITING

Who will be the state candidates of the Democratic, the Republican, and the American Labor Parties? At this stage we can only conjecture; but upon the appearance of this article the primaries will have taken place (September 20) and the conventions of the three parties will have ended. Thomas E. Dewey, District Attorney, who prosecuted James J. Hines, is the prospective Republican candidate for Governor, whose forensic abilities and link-up with the progressive LaGuardia administration are being utilized by the Republican Party to cover up its reactionary policy, program and leadership.

The unity of reactionary forces is to be noted in the proposal of Hamilton Fish that Al Smith be nominated by the Republican Party for U.S. Senator

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to replace the deceased Senator Copeland. Fish has further proposed that the Republicans run no candidate against the reactionary Tammanyite O'Connor. It is now proposed by the reactionary Republicans that Lehman be endorsed for short term U. S. Senatorship. In addition, the Republican Party, which has aspirations to capture the Presidency in 1940, not only looks upon the possibility of Dewey's being elected as Governor of the state, but also proposes the fascist-minded Congressman Bruce Barton for the U.S. Senate, as another potential presidential candidate.

The very fact that the reactionary forces within the Republican Party feel a close kinship to the reactionary Democrats and are rapidly moving along the open path of uniting forces against the progressives confirms the above-cited statements of Comrade Browder. The call of President Roosevelt for the realignment of all liberal forces against the reactionary camp, cutting across parties, is a further confirmation.

It must not be assumed that the reactionary Republicans and Democrats will campaign on an open reactionary platform. They are too clever for that. They realize that this would mean sure defeat. The reactionaries will stand on a demagogically "liberal" program, hoping in this way to mislead the voters and get their support.

The Democratic Party, on the other hand, faces this dilemma. Wishing to meet the desire of President Roosevelt that Senator Wagner be returned to the U. S. Senate as an outstanding liberal and progressive, it has at present only two other candidates who are mentioned for governorship, namely, Governor Lehman, who has several times refused to stand for a third term, and Congressman Mead of Buffalo, who has an excellent progressive record. Although other names are being mentioned within the Democratic ranks, these are the outstanding possibilities.

It is clear that the American Labor Party, lining up generally with the New Deal, will follow the practical line of supporting New Deal candidates but will not support another Democrat unworthy of the name, namely Attorney-General Bennett, who is a reactionary. The American Labor Party has also made it clear that it will demand of the New Deal forces that among the five state candidates there shall be a representative of the A. L. P. At this time of writing the situation remains unclear. The forces, however, are moving definitely into two camps—all progressives on the one hand, and all reactionaries on the other.

STRUGGLES DEEPENING IN THE OLD PARTIES

This situation has developed not without serious deep-going struggles in both the Democratic and Republican Parties. The Republican Party has its George U. Harvey, Borough President of Queens, but at the same time it has its County Chairmen Simpson and Crews, who, in the main, are moving in the direction of a coalition of all progressive forces. The result has been a very serious struggle within the Republican Party with regard to the coalition policy agreed upon with the A.L.P. for candidates for the State Assembly and State Senate. In the

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Democratic Party there are reactionary elements fighting for control of the party. The Hines issue may be the breaking point for Tammany and the whole Democratic Party in the city and state of New York.

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY CARRIES OUT INDEPENDENT LINE

The A.L.P. has carried out a skillful tactical line. In the campaign of 1937 it united with progressives of all shades who were willing to fight against Tammany reaction. This successful coalition brought together people of all political affiliations, determined to defeat the reactionaries. However, in preparation for the 1938 elections, the A.L.P. faced a difficult situation. Those in control of the Democratic Party refused to make any concessions to the A.L.P., despite the fact that on a statewide scale, the A.L.P. had polled about 500,000 votes in 1937. The Democratic leaders seemed to be of the opinion that it had the A.L.P. vote in their pocket.

Thereupon the leaders of the A.L.P. announced an independent slate. This acted as a thunderbolt both within the Republican and the Democratic ranks. The slate did not include the name of Governor Lehman for U.S. Senator. The A.L.P. correctly declared that Lehman was mainly responsible for the defeat of Roosevelt's Judiciary Reform measure by making a public statement against it on the eve of the vote in the Senate. Governor Lehman also gave the tactical line to the reactionaries in the State Legislature by declaring in his message to the 1938 session of the Legislature that all the social needs of the state had been realized in the Legislature of 1937. The result of this declaration was that very few progressive measures were passed, such as the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, and that the reactionary, Red-baiting McNaboe Committee was set up.

This position of the A.L.P. leaders created a struggle inside that party's ranks. The A.L.P. nominated Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, for U.S. Senator in place of Lehman. David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, issued a statement declaring his support of Lehman and pronouncing him a friend of labor. Abe Cahan, rabid, Red-baiting editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward,* attacked the leaders of the A.L.P., accusing Hillman of fraternizing with the Communists. Cahan was repudiated by the Board of Directors of the *Jewish Daily Forward* as a result of resolutions adopted by the Joint Executive Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union.

A. L. P. LEADERS SHOW REAL GENERALSHIP

The A.L.P. then entered into negotiations with the Republican Party in New York City for a coalition in support of A.L.P. and Republican candidates in various assembly and state Senatorial districts. This created consternation in the ranks of the Democratic Party. But it also indicated the *independent line and role* of the A.L.P. in building a broad coalition of all progressive forces, but dependent upon no other organization. This forced the Democratic leaders clearly to understand that the A.L.P. is a force that has to be dealt with and

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cannot be considered as an appendage to the Democratic Party.

While supporting Republicans for the lower offices, the leaders of the A.L.P. made it clear that their general line for candidates for the U. S. House and Senate and for the gubernatorial slate would be that of the New Deal Democrats. The A.L.P. proceeded to endorse such New Deal Democratic incumbents as Congressmen Sirovich, Cullen, Dickstein, Celler, all of New York City; Kelly of Rochester, and Beiter and Mead of Buffalo. Who the gubernatorial candidates of the A.L.P. will be, it is not possible at this writing to state. Nevertheless, it can and must be stated that the A.L.P. faces excellent prospects in the coming election and has established itself as a force to be reckoned with not only in New York City, but throughout the state.

SOCIALISTS, LOVESTONEITES AND TROTSKYITES ATTACK DEMOCRATIC FRONT LINE

The leaders of the A.L.P. have been accused by the Socialists (Old Guard and Thomas), Lovestoneites and Trotskyites of selling out the workers and the A.L.P. These people accuse the A.L.P. of creating merely another third party. They are opposed to the democratic front and both inside and frequently outside the A.L.P. carry on an open struggle against the correct democratic front line of the leaders of the A.L.P. However, Alex Rose, Executive Secretary of the A.L.P., recently issued figures indicating that the A.L.P. has nominated 16 A.L.P. candidates for Congres, 15 for the State Senate, 34 for the State Assembly. Of these candidates, one for Congress, four for the State Senate, and 12 for the State Assembly have been endorsed by the Republican Party. The A.L.P. on the other hand, has endorsed one Republican for Congress, three for the State Senate, and 13 for the State Assembly. The A.L.P. has also endorsed six Democrats for Congress, one for the State Senate, and three for the State Assembly. This makes a total of 82 Labor Party candidates nominated by the A.L.P., and 10 Democrats and 17 Republicans endorsed by the A.L.P. This, out of a total of 109 candidates involved in the elections in New York City alone.

Therefore, the indignant howlers against the correct democratic line that the foremost leaders of the A.L.P. advocate and fight for, are misrepresenting the line of the A.L.P. and doing everything possible to weaken the growing prestige, influence and strength of the A.L.P. They do this inside and outside of the A.L.P., acting as agents of reaction within the ranks of the A.L.P. In short, it may be said that the A.L.P., which in the last State Assembly was the balance of power, will in all probability have increased strength in the State Assembly, and will elect some members to the State Senate and probably one or more U. S. Congressmen.

It was to be foreseen that Democrats and Republicans would contest the A.L.P. nominations by running in the primaries of the A.L.P. At the same time Old Guard Socialists, dissatisfied with the candidates designated by the State Executive Committee of the A.L.P., are also running in the primaries. The Communist Party has already called for united support by all enrolled voters of the A.L.P. for

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the official designees of the A.L.P. *There must be unity in the ranks of the A.L.P. to withstand the efforts of the reactionary parties and of sectarian and factional elements inside the A.L.P., both of whom are doing everything in their power to disrupt the A.L.P.*

MORE DEMOCRACY NEEDED IN THE A.L.P.

It is true there are weaknesses in the set-up and procedure of the A.L.P. There is not sufficient democracy in the assembly district clubs. This is due not only to the general method of work, but also to the narrow, sectarian, cliquish methods of the Old Guard Socialists and their allies in the A.L.P., who try to restrict the membership of the A.L.P., instead of broadening out. But even this wall of resistance is being broken down through a correct attitude on the part of the A.L.P. leadership and the work of the progressives within the assembly district clubs. The work of the A.L.P., to too great an extent, is still restricted to the Italian and Jewish masses. As yet the organization has not attracted large number of native-American, Irish-American, Polish, German and other nationalities within the state, particularly in New York City. The A.L.P. has made as yet insufficient inroad among the rank and file of the A. F. of L. The leaders of the A. F. of L. try to brand Labor's Non-Partisan League nationally and the A.L.P. in New York State as C.I.O. organizations. This is *totally untrue, since there are quite a considerable number of A. F. of L. unions affiliated to the A.L.P.* Nevertheless, the composition of the leadership of the A.L.P. in the counties and assembly districts is in too many instances quite narrow. We trust that at the coming county and state conventions of the A.L.P., more leading A. F. of L. people—Irish, German, Polish, Negro, Spanish-speaking and other elements —will be brought to the front.

MORE ATTENTION TO NEGROES AND FARMERS

A continuing weakness of the A.L.P. is its lack of a fundamental program for the Negro question, and for farmers and people in rural communities generally. It will be remembered that in the munipical elections of 1937 there was not a single plank in the platform of the A.L.P. in behalf of the Negroes. This should hardly have been expected of a progressive organization in New York. But now, particularly when, as in South Carolina and other parts of the South, the question of "white supremacy" is being raised in the sharpest manner since the days of the Civil War, the *imperative need* exists for all progressive groups and organizations to take a stand for equal rights for the Negroes.

Similarly as regards the farmers. Although it could not have been expected of the A.L.P., which is only two years old, that it could have made close contact with the farmers, nevertheless there are farmers and farm organizations in New York State which, long under the influence of the Republican Party, are today politically in a state of flux and can be reached with a correct program adopted by the A.L.P. Such questions as milk, taxation, flood control, soil erosion, debts and mortgages, high prices for manufactured products, etc., must be dealt

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with. The attempt of Frank Gannett and other people and organizations of farmers to pit the farmers against the workers is evident also in New York State and must be dealt with.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY DWINDLING

The Socialist Party, which will this year conduct an independent campaign of "pure" socialism as the only solution for immediate problems, is in a ridiculous position. Several months ago the Socialist Party negotiated with the A.L.P. with the aim of affiliating with it by giving up the Socialist Party and joining as an educational group. The Socialist Party proposed that it be allowed to support only working class candidates nominated by the A.L.P. This demagogic and narrow proposal was rejected by the A.L.P. Thereupon the Socialist Party accepted an invitation of the Social-Democratic Federation (Old Guard Socialists) with the aim of unity. This unity evidently has not been achieved. Therefore the Socialist Party enters the election campaign with the aim of splitting away at least some thousands of progressives from the support of the candidates of the A.L.P. and the democratic front. Thus, the Socialist Party acts as a tool of the reactionaries, misleading its own members and some workers who still do not understand its splitting role of helping reaction in its effort to defeat the progressives. The prestige and influence of the Socialist Party are very low and the nomination of Norman Thomas for governor will not help very much to revive the party in New York. The healthy elements in the Socialist Party have already left its ranks, and its present tactics will only serve to drive out the few remaining people who do not wish to see the party used by the reactionaries to stem progress.

UNITY OF THE A. F. OF L. AND C.I.O. ESSENTIAL

Following the line of William Green and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., who have endorsed the reactionaries Fish and Barton, the State Federation of Labor has attacked the A.L.P. as a "stooge" of the C.I.O., warning and coercing the A. F. of L. rank and file affiliated to the A.L.P. to withdraw from it. The State Federation has not been very successful. Nevertheless, following upon the convention of the Allied Printing Trades and the Building Trades Unions in New York, the recent convention of the State Federation of Labor passed a resolution condemning the A.L.P. and declaring that it would support the old Gompers motto of "Reward your friends and punish your enemies." This will in many instances lead to *parallel action* on the part of the A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Committee and the A.L.P.

Therefore it becomes the task of progressive A. F. of L. unionists to become active in the local A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Committees and to work for the endorsement, support, and election of the progressive candidates nominated by the A.L.P. and the democratic front. There is no question whatever that within the ranks of the A. F. of L. there is a real orientation toward the A.L.P. The sharpened relations between the A. F. of L. Executive Council and the leadership of the C.I.O. are being used to cause a cleft between the A. F. of L. and

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C.I.O. rank and file in New York state. Struggle between the two trade union organizations, such as has taken place in other parts of the country, has not been manifest to any degree in the state of New York. By careful, well-planned work, both in the A.L.P. and in the A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Committee, unity of action in the election campaign can be brought about. This will not only preserve the relatively good relations between the two organizations but will help bring about organic unity between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION—CAMPAIGN ISSUE

One of the outstanding issues in the election campaign will be the amended State Constitution, which comes up for referendum on Election Day. The reactionary Democrats in New York City, allied with the reactionary Republicans upstate, have given us a new Constitution, many planks of which will be condemned by all progressives. It is necessary at this time only to mention the prohibition of proportional representation which was carried in New York City by a vote of nearly two to one and which formed the base for the election campaign of 1937. The results of the election have encouraged municipalities upstate, such as Yonkers and Schenectady, where a referendum on proportional representation is to take place this year. Tammany and the reactionary Republicans realize that they will not be able to hold control except through the old method of voting, which excludes all progressive minorities. The immediate aim, of course, is to remove the A.L.P. from the City Council and to prevent proportional representation from becoming a statewide method of election.

Similarly, the reactionary Republicans, who numerically controlled the Constitutional Convention, put across a reapportionment plan, which would automatically give control to the Republicans, even though granting a few extra seats in the State Assembly and Senate to New York City. These two planks are merely examples of the horse-trading that took place. The refusal of the Constitution Convention to give control of water power, particularly of the Great Lakes, to the state shows the forces that were in operation at the Constitutional Convention, namely, the *utility interests*. On the other hand, this being election year, some progressive proposals were placed in the new Constitution, such as a Labor Bill of Rights, health insurance, and housing. The Constitutional Convention therefore will become an outstanding issue in the election campaign, and it is to be hoped that the progressive forces throughout the city and state will unite for the acceptance or rejection of the various proposals that emanated from the Convention.

STAY-AWAY CAN DETERMINE ELECTION RESULTS

One of the intangible forces, but a very powerful one—not only in New York State, but throughout the country—must be brought into play. In New York State there are 1,800,000 eligible voters who either do not register and therefore cannot vote, or register and do not vote. The number of such *stay-aways* in New York City alone is 900,000. This is the *largest*

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group in the state. However, it has been found that in those Assembly Districts where the A.L.P. had a candidate and carried on a campaign, the proportion of stay-aways was far lower. This proves that there is a mass of discontented voters, not yet prepared to vote for the Communists but dissatisfied with the Republican and Democratic Parties. When, however, they are given a chance to vote for a progressive party and platform and for progressive candidates, they will be eager to cast their vote. The Communist Party is calling the attention of all progressives to this serious factor, which unquestionably is to be met with in all parts of the country.

FOR A POWERFUL COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN

Our Party will conduct its independent campaign. We have already nominated a full slate of candidates and have declared openly that we will withdraw candidates in favor of the candidates of the A.L.P. However, in those districts where the A.L.P. has no candidates and only reactionaries will stand for election, our Party will run its own candidate. The State Committee has outlined a very broad campaign of radio broadcasts, meetings, leaflets, folders, and election platforms, also in the most important languages. At the same time, our comrades are everywhere active in the assembly districts, unions, neighborhoods, and mass organizations, helping to build and strengthen the A.L.P. and getting support for its candidates. Our Party has declared openly, through Comrade Browder and through the resolutions of our national and state conventions, that our immediate aim is the rallying of all progressive forces for the defeat of reaction. *Our interests do not lie apart from those of the progressives.* We shall do everything in the coming election campaign, even more energetically than any other group, to rally the forces of progress against the reactionaries.

PROMOTING THE GROWTH OF THE "DAILY WORKER" AND THE PARTY

Our campaign will be conducted on the National Congressional Platform of our Party for jobs, security, democracy, and peace, as well as the state planks that have been affixed thereto. We will use the election campaign, not only for stimulating the growth and support of the A.L.P., but for building the circulation of our *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker,* which are playing a big part in placing the issues of the A.L.P. and progressives before the wide masses and will be a very powerful instrument for all the progressive forces during the election campaign. It must be noted that, although New York has a supposedly liberal press, there is only one daily paper which consistently supports and defends the New Deal, and that is the *Daily Worker.*

We will use the election campaign also for the strengthening of our Party and the Y.C.L. Wherever Communists are active, there progressive organization is built up. Seeing our Party members in action, uniting the forces of progress, building the A.L.P., we shall unquestionably be able to strengthen our own ranks by several thousand members.

This election campaign will be very bitter. The economic situation is not improving. Many a community is

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bankrupt. The unemployed in the localities face a bitter struggle. Attempts against the rights of trade union organizations are being made on all sides. The reactionaries mouthing progressive slogans—statements of John D. H. Hamilton, Chairman of the Republican Party, and Alfred Landon to the effect that they are not opposed to the New Deal but only to the method of its application, etc.—do not conceal the reactionary forces that are operating in both major political parties. The election campaign is bringing these issues sharply to the fore, as they have already done in the primary fights in other states. The progressive forces, on the other hand, are rapidly coalescing, and the struggle will come to a new showdown in the election campaign of this year.

Our Party is keyed up to an understanding of this situation and promises on the basis of correct organization of our forces and application of our united energies to conduct the best campaign we have done thus far. The forces of reaction are uniting. The forces of progess are on the march. The democratic front moves ahead. There must and will be a new victory for the army of the democratic front in New York this year.

"The basis of discipline is *knowledge,* and we must discipline our great and growing Party with the knowledge of its own history and how we came to be what we are. And the only way in which we can do that is to master the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism."

EARL BROWDER, *The Communist,* July 1938

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THE ELECTION STRUGGLE IN CALIFORNIA

BY WILLIAM SCHNEIDERMAN

State Secretary, Communist Party, California

THE election struggle in California has attracted nationwide attention because it has developed all the bitterness and the spectacular features of the 1934 campaign, with a great deal more at stake. Ever since the overwhelming Roosevelt victory in this state during the 1936 presidential elections, the progressive forces have been organizing and preparing for the 1938 campaign, determined that this mandate of the people shall be directed toward ousting the gang of Hoover Republicans who have run the state for over forty years. The people of California are drawing up a long bill of particulars against the reactionary state administration, headed by the arch-tory Governor Merriam.

The elections are taking place under conditions of bitter industrial warfare, which is being waged by reactionary employer interests against both A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions. The employers' attack on the unions takes the form of refusal to renew agreements, in order to provoke protracted struggles which they hope will weaken the unions and pave the way for direct and indirect wage-cutting. But the employers have a more far-reaching aim in mind. They fear a New Deal victory in the elections which will give a tremendous impetus to the further growth of the trade unions, and will generally weaken the grip of the big monopolists in California, who have had their way for so long. They are therefore provoking these struggles, not only to weaken and further divide labor itself, but to alienate from it the middle class and farm populations.

They have also placed on the ballot an initiative measure, which, if passed, would practically outlaw any effective organizational or strike activity by labor; and they have set up a well-financed campaign apparatus for this anti-labor measure under the misleading title, "Committee for Peace in Labor Relations." All this fits in well with the strategy of the Republican Party to split the New Deal majority and thus make possible a reactionary victory in the elections.

These factors, together with the sharpening political struggle on a national scale, have brought out the heaviest registration of voters in California history, larger even than for the 1936 presidential elections. Three and a half million voters registered for the primaries, showing the intense interest of the people in the outcome of the elections; and a Democratic majority of 800,000 in a traditionally Republican state shows the dominant trend of the masses to be in a progressive direction. The main problem confronting

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the labor and progressive movement, and therefore the Communist Party, is the unification of this great progressive majority for the New Deal, in order to defeat reaction in the November elections and bring the New Deal to California. This is the problem of building the democratic front.

DIVISIONS IN THE DEMOCRATIC CAMP

The Tenth National Convention of our Party emphasized the urgent necessity of uniting all the democratic forces behind a single progressive candidate for each office. In California, this is especially true, because of the divisions that exist in the democratic camp, and particularly in the labor movement, which are the greatest threat to a progressive victory in the elections. The wounds of the 1934 split in the Democratic Party over the Sinclair candidacy have not yet healed, and sharp differences developed in the campaign for the August primaries, on a number of issues and candidates. The California Democratic Party leadership, although in the main pro-New Deal, failed to reconcile itself to the progressive trend among the masses and to the new progressive leaders that came forward, some of them from the former Epic movement. Nor did it take into sufficient account the great changes in the labor movement since 1934, its growth and political consciousness, the rise of the C.I.O., and the progressive sentiments of the A. F. of L. membership, in spite of a reactionary state officialdom.

The McAdoo-Creel machine in the Democratic Party put forward candidates who were considered New Dealers, but had never distinguished themselves particularly in fighting for the needs and demands of the masses. Congressman Dockweiler, running for Governor, was one of the "Yes, but" men who in the special session of Congress was instrumental in blocking the administration Wages and Hours Bill by substituting William Green's bill. Sheriff Dan Murphy of San Francisco, candidate for Governor with the official endorsement of the A. F. of L. (although not its united support), was practically unknown outside of San Francisco. In the eight years he served in the State Senate he had never lifted his voice in behalf of Tom Mooney, although Murphy was an active figure in the A. F. of L. Senator McAdoo, running for re-election, voted for New Deal measures, but never made a real fight on issues that concerned the masses. His machine in state politics has an unsavory record, which made it difficult to rally the labor and progressive forces behind him.

The factional situation in the Democratic Party made it impossible before the primaries to reach agreement on any one gubernatorial or senatorial candidate around whom all the New Deal forces might unite. Even the McAdoo-Creel machine could not agree on support of any one gubernatorial candidate. The more conscious progressive forces in the democratic camp were able to achieve a much greater substantial unity down below, by waging an aggressive fight in the primaries around a progressive platform of a comparatively advanced nature, and around candidates who had come forward as outstanding leaders and fighters for the demands of the masses.

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FACTORS FOR THE POLITICAL UNITY OF LABOR

In the labor movement itself, there were a number of obstacles to political unity. The split between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. had especially sharp repercussions on the Pacific Coast, with bitter jurisdictional battles precipitated by the A. F. of L. top leadership playing into the hands of the employers and reactionaries generally. Many of the leaders of the State Federation of Labor had formerly been identified with the Republican Party machine, and some of them still lean in that direction. Had it been possible, they would have come out for Governor Merriam, or for his equally reactionary rival for the Republican gubernatorial nomination, Lieutenant-Governor Hatfield. But such a policy could not be sold to the A. F. of L. membership; so the officialdom formed the A. F. of L. Political League as a direct rival to Labor's Non-Partisan League, and embarked on a policy of splitting and disruption within the New Deal camp. Themselves divided on the issue of gubernatorial candidate, they nevertheless gave a more or less formal endorsement to Murphy, and carried on a bitter fight against State Senator Olson, the outstanding progressive New Dealer who had wide support in both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O., as well as among large sections of the farmers and middle-class voters.

The leadership of Labor's Non-Partisan League, which includes not only C.I.O. leaders but many prominent progressive A. F. of L. leaders, recognized the danger of a struggle which would be interpreted as a fight between the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. Favoring Olson's candidacy, they nevertheless refrained from making an endorsement before the primaries, and strained every effort to reach an agreement with the A. F. of L. Political League that both organizations should pledge to support whichever New Deal candidates won the Democratic primaries. This unity policy did much to minimize the effects of the splitting policy of the A. F. of L. leadership, and reacted favorably for Olson in the A. F. of L. unions.

Another factor making for labor unity was the candidacy of John Shelley, president of the San Francisco Labor Council and a leader of Labor's Non-Partisan League. Because of his progressive policies and identification with Labor's Non-Partisan League, the A. F. of L. state bureaucracy endorsed a Republican candidate for the State Senate running against him. But this proved to be a boomerang, as Shelley's candidacy rallied the unanimous support of every A. F. of L. union in San Francisco, as well as the entire C.I.O. Shelley's smashing victory in the primaries was a stinging rebuke to Vandeleur, secretary of the State Federation of Labor, who had led the fight against him, and strengthened the possibility for labor unity behind the entire New Deal ticket in the final elections.

A third factor for the political unity of labor is the tory campaign for the anti-labor Initiative measure on the ballot, which is part of a campaign being conducted along the entire Pacific Coast for local and state anti-labor legislation in California, Oregon and Washington. This threat has aroused even the most reactionary diehard A.

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F. of L. leaders who have led the jurisdictional warfare against the C.I.O. Dave Beck, teamsters' official, was recently compelled to declare before the Washington State Federation of Labor convention that all labor, regardless of affiliation, must act jointly to defeat this measure, which appears in almost identical form on the ballots in all three states. Thus, in spite of the obstacles, the forces for labor unity are making themselves felt, and a wise policy by the C.I.O. and Labor's Non-Partisan League will not only make possible joint action with the A. F. of L. in the elections, but will do much to pave the way for healing the breach between the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. on the economic front, where both are now under attack by the employers.

But even labor unity, in itself, is not enough to defeat reaction, especially in a state like California, with its large farm and middle-class population. The program of reaction is typified, not only by Governor Merriam, but by the Republican candidate for the U. S. Senate, Philip Bancroft, leader of the so-called "Associated Farmers," an organization of big growers and bankers with pro-fascist tendencies which organizes terrorism and makes a special bid for the support of farmers and other middle-class elements.

Labor, and the New Deal forces generally, have a great responsibility to prevent the pitting of farmers against workers, and to win the small and middle farmers and small businessmen to the democratic camp in this election struggle. This can and must be done by taking the lead in fighting for a legislative program which will correspond to the needs and demands of the farmers and small businessmen against the big growers and monopoly capitalists. But it is also necessary to answer the demagogic cry of the tories for "industrial peace," these same elements who by their bitter enmity to labor and the demands of the industrial workers, the unemployed and agricultural labor have provoked strikes and lockouts. The issues must be made so clear that all the people can see where the responsibility lies, and rally in defense of the unions and the unemployed. But, above all, labor must not allow itself to be provoked to fight under unfavorable conditions which may work to the employer's benefit, and which may create divisions in the democratic camp. By labor's following such a responsible policy, using the strike weapon only as a last resort, public opinion can be rallied to place the responsibility where it really belongs.

There are increasing examples that the most responsible leaders of both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. are thinking in these terms, and if they, together with the chief standard-bearers of the New Deal ticket, make the issues clear to the masses during the campaign, the strategy of the tories can be defeated.

MERRIAM'S STALKING-HORSE, HAIGHT

Another serious threat to the unity of the democratic camp is the third-party movement of Raymond Haight, candidate for Governor on the "Progressive Party" ticket. Although the Progressive Party has only 11,000 registered voters, it represents a much greater force than this would indicate. In 1934, Haight polled 300,000 votes, which was the margin by which

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Merriam defeated Sinclair. Although Haight's followers include many honest progressives, his main source of strength comes from anti-New Deal circles and he has received a big build-up in the Republican newspapers. The Republican Party sees in this third-party movement a means to split the progressive vote. Therefore, while the tories aim their main fire against the New Deal candidates, they are carefully nursing the Haight campaign and giving it every possible support, in the hope that it will repeat its yeoman service of 1934, and deliver the state to Merriam. In the primary campaign, Haight vied with Merriam in the most unscrupulous Red-baiting attacks against Olson, candidate for the gubernatorial nomination on the Democratic ticket.

Haight has especially vented his wrath on the Communist Party, because from the very first our Party pointed out the danger of a third-party ticket at this time, and raised the slogan: "A vote for Haight is a vote for Merriam." Everything that our Party has said about the danger of the LaFollette movement on a national scale is true of Haight's Progressive Party ticket in California. Haight is not only flirting with the LaFollette "National Progressives," but is trying to draw a false parallel between his role and the role of the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota and the American Labor Party in New York, which are unifying under different conditions the progressive forces in their respective states, and not dividing them. In the August primaries, Haight polled about 200,000 votes on the Republican and Democratic tickets, and won the Progressive Party nomination. In the final elections, he is posing as the "middle-of-the-road" alternative to a "radical" and reactionary; without a chance of election, he serves as a stalking-horse for Merriam, whether he and his followers realize it or not. Once this becomes clear, it will be easier to unite all progressive and New Deal supporters around the New Deal ticket for the defeat of Merriam. The progressive camp must wage a campaign against the diversion of even a handful of honest progressives to this abortive third-party ticket which can only aid reaction.

THE CALIFORNIA PENSION PLAN

Another big factor in the elections is the pension movement. California was the home of the one-time powerful Townsend pension movement, which began to disintegrate when its leaders formed a reactionary anti-New Deal alliance with Coughlin and Gerald Smith. The California Townsend members voted overwhelmingly for Roosevelt in 1936, and when the Townsend leaders made an open alliance with Governor Merriam and the Republican Party, the movement went even faster downhill, and opened the way for new pension movements which sprang up. Under the Merriam regime, the administration of the pitifully inadequate pension and old-age assistance legislation was so sabotaged that the aged in need of assistance are in a desperate situation, especially with widespread unemployment among those on whom they are dependent. The labor and progressive forces have never given sufficient attention to the fight for old-age pensions, and, as President Roosevelt himself has recognized, the New Deal so-

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cial security legislation must be broadened and made more adequate. In the meantime, every new pension movement that springs up, seemingly offering an immediate solution to the problem of social security for the people, receives widespread mass support. The latest and most powerful such movement is the California Pension Plan.

The California Pension Plan proposes to give $30 a week, every Thursday, to all unemployed citizens at the age of 50 or over, in the form of warrants, redeemable by the state at the end of one year. It is to be financed by the holder of the warrant placing a two-cent stamp on each $1.00 warrant every week, so that at the end of one year the state will get $1.04 in taxes for every $1.00 warrant. Fantastic and unworkable as this plan is, this movement spread like wildfire and in a short time gathered nearly a million signatures to place it on the November ballot as an initiative measure. Many of those who support it, including workers, farmers, youth, aged, etc., are not convinced that it will work, but are willing to try it out. They are looking for a way out of their difficulties, and they see in this plan a possible, and seemingly plausible solution.

From the first, the Communist Party declared that this is an essentially progressive movement, with whose general objectives we are in full sympathy. We pointed out that it is the outgrowth of the crying need for social security for the masses, which is fought by the tories and is dealt with very inadequately by the Roosevelt Administration. We defended the right of the people to vote on the measure, and opposed the attempts of the reactionaries to have it ruled off the ballot by the State Supreme Court. But our Party also declared that the manner of financing this plan would place the greatest burden on those least able to pay, in a disguised form of sales tax, and that this burden would fall heaviest on the workers and small business man. We further warned that the debacle in which this plan would inevitably end up would be a fertile ground for reactionary demagogues, who did not hesitate to seize upon the Townsend movement as a vehicle for deluding the masses.

Our chief task, however (and the task of the democratic forces generally), is not to come into a head-on collision with this movement, which would only drive it toward the camp of reaction, but rather to win the pension advocates for the democratic front against reaction, and make them realize that their only hope of getting adequate pensions, as a part of the general fight for a recovery program for the masses, is tied up with a progressive victory in the elections and the defeat of the tory forces who are enemies of legislation for pensions and social security, and of progressive legislation generally.

In the Democratic Party, reaction to the plan ranged from open opposition, by McAdoo and Murphy, to full support by Dockweiler and Downey. Olson adopted a sympathetic attitude toward the pension plan movement, without endorsing it, but stating that if it is adopted, he would attempt to administer it. The Republican Party was quick to take advantage of this division in the New Deal camp, and attempted to make it the main issue

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both before and after the primaries, in the hope of weakening the New Deal ticket and creating a split in the Democratic Party. The Republicans interpreted the victory of Downey over McAdoo as a "defeat" for Roosevelt, in spite of the fact that Downey got his main source of strength campaigning on a progressive New Deal platform as against the colorless record of McAdoo, who merely "went along" with the New Deal without making an aggressive fight on a single important issue.

The chief danger in Downey's position, whose platform, aside from the pension issue, can rally the support of all pro-New Deal forces against the arch-reactionary Republican Bancroft, is that it gives the tories a means to create a diversion from the main issues of the campaign. The Republican Party, in fighting the California Pension Plan, while demagogically "endorsing" the equally unworkable Townsend Plan, is bidding for the support of those Democrats who oppose the California Pension Plan. But the democratic camp cannot afford to fall into this trap and permit the pension issue to create rifts in their ranks, when on the main issues of the elections there is or can be established, substantial unity.

The Pension Plan leaders themselves have wisely declared against insisting on writing an endorsement of the plan into the platform of the Democratic Party. Among the Democratic Party leaders, Olson especially has made it clear to the pension advocates, that regardless of the fate of the Pension Plan on the ballot, or after the elections, their hopes for greater security can only be realized through a progressive victory in the elections. If the progressive forces generally will adopt such a correct approach, it will not only win the entire pension movement to the democratic front and steer it into more realistic channels, but will also prevent any serious defections from the New Deal ranks on this issue.

THE VICTORY FOR PROGRESS IN THE PRIMARIES

The results of the Democratic primaries were a victory for progress and democracy, and greatly enhance the possibilities for democratic unity and victory in the final elections. The nomination of outstanding progressives like Olson for Governor, Downey for Senator, and many others for Congress and lesser offices, shows the temper of the masses, who chose candidates that have come forward as fighters for progressive New Deal measures, for a peace policy of collective security, for lifting the embargo on Spain and boycotting the fascist aggressors, for the freedom of Tom Mooney, and for rights of labor and civil liberties. Their nomination considerably strengthens the hand of President Roosevelt, and will further the fight against reaction much more effectively than would have been the case with candidates like McAdoo or Dockweiler. It would be a mistake to think, as was sometimes expressed in the Party, that for the sake of unity it would make no difference as to which of the Democratic candidates won the nomination, as long as they are all New Dealers. The masses have sensed that there is a degree of difference between those who merely "go along" with the New Deal, and

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those who really fight for it, and they chose as their standard-bearers those who have taken the lead in fighting for their demands.

The primaries also showed that the most violent Red-baiting failed to have any serious effect, as those candidates who were the main objects of Red-baiting survived these attacks successfully. This was true, not only in the main industrial centers, but in practically all the rural areas, formerly considered the stronghold of the Republican Party, the successful progressive New Deal candidates received almost the same widespread support. It is a most encouraging sign for the prospects of farmer-labor unity, which can be furthered still more if labor will work out ways and means of cooperation with the farmers and fighting for their demands. Thus the maximum unity of all sections of the working population can be assured in a great democratic front.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNISTS IN BUILDING THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT

The Communist Party in California is participating in the election campaign with the aim of contributing its part toward the unification of all democratic forces for the defeat of reaction. It has for this reason refrained from nominating Communist candidates for the major offices, where the labor-progressive-New Deal front have candidates to challenge the reactionary Republican ticket. Where the reactionaries would otherwise have a clear field for themselves, the Communist Party has filed a number of candidates, where they will be the only progressive opposition to the Republican ticket. As an essential force in building the unity of the democratic front, the Communist Party is conducting a campaign to "Vote for labor, progressive and Communist candidates." One of the unique features of this campaign in the primaries was the filing of the candidacy of Leo Gallagher, for Secretary of State, on both the Communist and Democratic tickets, and his receiving over 100,000 votes at the primary election. The Party is becoming a recognized force for unity in the labor and progressive movement, and as such is receiving ever-greater support of progressive-minded people who appreciate the role of the Communists in helping to build the democratic front. We are conscious of our task, that out of this election struggle must come, not only a progressive victory, but a stronger, mass Communist Party capable of fulfilling still greater responsibilities in the struggles to come.

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THE ELECTIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA

BY CARL REEVE

Educational Director, Communist Party, Eastern Pennsylvania

THE forces of reaction centering around the Republican Party of Pennsylvania are making every effort in the present election campaign to remove the New Deal administration from office in order to lower the living standards of the people, to take from the citizens of Pennsylvania their democratic rights and civil liberties, and to put big business in control of the state. The Republican ticket, headed by Judge Arthur James for governor and the incumbent United States Senator, James J. Davis, is the slate of finance capital in Pennsylvania. The Republican Party in that state is the party of union-smashing big business, with control leading directly to the offices of J. P. Morgan and Co.

In the present election campaign it is particularly necessary to expose the reactionary character and record of the Republican Party before the people of the state because that party more and more puts on a "liberal" and "pro-labor" face as the campaign develops. The strategy of the Republicans is to obscure the vital needs of the people—the main issue in the campaign—by raising the issue of graft and clean government, at the same time making demagogic promises to the people. The program of the Republican Party, issued on September 10, states:

> "The chief issues of this campaign are the re-establishment of honest government at Harrisburg and the restoration of jobs in private industry."

The platform pledges "pensions to the aged and blind and ample financial assistance to the needy mothers and the handicapped, ample relief to the unemployed, cooperation with the W.P.A. and other similiar government projects until private employment is restored." The program further endorses workmen's compensation, the right to collective bargaining, freedom of speech and press, and promises to provide for the veterans and orphans. In general terms the farmers are promised support.

A study of the record of the Republican Party of Pennsylvania and its real aims is necessary in order fully to understand these false promises as the sugar coating of the bitter pill of the Republicans' reactionary, anti-labor aims. The program itself, while making these general promises, endorses the reactionary, anti-labor program of the Republican national organization in the United States Congress, and contains their usual cry of "waste," "extravagance" and "politics" in government, in line with its

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campaign to cut relief. One of the major points in the platform is the plank favoring the lowering of taxes on corporations. The Republican platform follows the time-worn method of the Party of Wall Street—progressive promises to the people in general words to cover up the reactionary kernel and the anti-labor deeds. We should point out to the voters that the false promises in the Republican program are made in the hope of dulling the people's memory of the starvation and suffering in the days of Hoover, to which the Hoover party now wants to return.

WHO CONTROLS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN PENNSYLVANIA?

The finances of the Republican James-Davis campaign are in the hands of five men: Arthur Weir, infamous union smasher of Weirton Steel fame; Jay Cooke, on Morgan's preferred stock list, banker and multi-millionaire financier, who is head of the Republican Party of Philadelphia; Moe Annenburg, publisher of the reactionary *Philadelphia Inquirer,* who was formerly head of Hearst's slugger squads in Chicago; J. N. Pew, Jr., millionaire owner of Sun Oil Company; and Joe Grundy, president of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association and well known as a union buster and open-shop manufacturer. Additional Morgan men, as well as the fabulously rich Mellon coal, oil and aluminum interests, the Bethlehem Steel, the Pennsylvania Railroad, and the du Pont interests, are strongly backing the Republican campaign.

It is these multi-millionaires, all supporters of company unionism, bitter enemies of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. alike, reputedly ready to spend five million dollars to defeat the New Deal Democratic slate, who are pulling the strings on James and Davis, spokesmen of the reactionary and fascist elements in the state.

There is a strong link between the Republican Party of Pennsylvania and the openly fascist elements of the state. The Republican Party openly and warmly accepts support from such fascists as Bessie Burchett of Philadelphia and from the *Lehigh Valley News,* a fascist weekly published in Allentown. A number of key candidates on the Republican ticket are well known fascists. An example is Fred C. Gartner, candidate for Congress in the 5th Congressional district of Philadelphia, first Philadelphia president of the fascist Friends of New Germany and attorney for the big hosiery mills, and known as a German Nazi.

PROGRAM OF THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES

The two leading candidates themselves are attempting to put on a front of being from the common people. James is being touted as "a poor breaker boy." However, James is the director of the wealthy First National Bank of Plymouth, Pennsylvania. Before being elected a Superior Court Judge with the backing of the corrupt Vare machine, at a salary of $18,000 a year, James was a corporation lawyer.

Senator Davis modestly states, "I am a plain man of the common people." However, Davis became wealthy as the director of the Loyal Order of Moose.

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The program of the Republicans in Pennsylvania is well summed up in the record of Senator James J. Davis, who has used his influence in the Senate against New Deal measures, including his failure to vote for the Wages and Hours Bill. Davis has long been a bitter foe of unemployment insurance. He told the A. F. of L. convention in 1931:

"As yet I have been unable to reconcile my own best judgement with any suggested or existing form of government operation of unemployment insurance . . . it is unemployment insurance in good times, but it becomes a dole in times of economic depression . . . it is but a premium on in-dole-nce . . . [unemployment insurance] destroys individual initiative and ruins the morale of a nation—I am opposed to it."

Davis has been a bitter opponent of the W.P.A. In 1936 he introduced a resolution demanding an investigation of W.P.A., which aimed to attack the whole structure of job relief. He opposes all forms of relief to the common people whom he claims to represent and at the same time opposes any form of taxation on the rich. In a recent speech during the primary campaign he attacked the Roosevelt three-billion-dollar relief program, charging the New Deal with pump-priming. He said: "I opposed the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Passamaquoddy tide-harnessing project and the Florida Ship Canal. I am opposed to the St. Lawrence Waterway." (*Philadelphia Bulletin,* April 7, 1938.) In that speech he attacked the Social Security law in the following words:

"I opposed the massing of a 47 billion dollar reserve of government I.O.U.'s in the social security funds, but believe in the pay-as-you-go plan for old age annuities and an extension of this plan."

Davis also opposed the bill granting relief to the impoverished farmers.

In the recent primaries Davis repeated this program for aiding big business, declaring:

"I opposed the capital gains tax, the Triple A processing tax and the LaFollette amendments to increase income taxes in both the higher and lower brackets." (*Ibid.*)

In Congress, Davis vigorously fought to protect the profits of holding companies and public utilities corporations. He wrote the minority report against the Wheeler-Rayburn Act, claiming that the government's attempt to regulate these holding companies prevented expenditure of capital. Davis violently opposed liberalizing the tory Supreme Court, and was an active campaigner against the New Deal Reorganization Bill.

The record of Judge Arthur James is equally reactionary. "I now invite you to join in a successful drive against the New Deal" is his campaign slogan. Both Senator Davis and Judge James are products of the corrupt Vare machine.

In 1932, James handed down a vicious anti-labor decision which nullified the workmen's compensation laws by computing compensation on the basis of actual daily time worked rather than of the weekly wage. At least 18,000 workers suffered hardships for two years because they were placed on the reduced compensation, until the Pennsylvania Supreme Court was forced to reverse Judge James' decision.

RECORD OF THE REPUBLICANS IN THE STATE LEGISLATURE

The Republican Party of Pennsyl-

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vania has a 100 per cent anti-labor and anti-progressive record. Two years ago the Republicans in the State Legislature fought for a drastic cut in the already inadequate relief and voted against the relief appropriations which were finally passed by the Democratic majority. The relief proposals of the Republicans would have forced the unemployed of Pennsylvania to exist on a few cents a day. They voted against the State Labor Relations Act, taking a position that would rob the workers of their right to collective bargaining. They voted against the minimum 44-hour week bill, and after it was passed by the Democratic majority, the reactionary Republican State Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional.

Just what the Republican candidates mean when they call for "economy in government spending" has been demonstrated by the Republican City Council of Philadelphia. Receiving orders from Jay Cooke, the Council imposed a sales tax on the people of Philadelphia a few months ago. The fifteen Republican Councilmen refused to fire Republican political drones out of the City Hall in order to balance the budget. Judge James, in defending the sales tax, said that it was an "emergency measure" and would be lifted on December 31, but the Republican Party is already talking about not only continuing the tax but increasing the amount levied against necessities.

At the same time that the Council was taxing the poor, the Republicans refused to appropriate any money for W.P.A. jobs. Thirty-two thousand Philadelphia workers were idle because the City Council refused to appropriate $4,500,000 which would have released $40,000,000 allotted by the federal government for Philadelphia projects. After the C.I.O. the A. F. of L., the Workers Alliance, and the Democrats conducted big united demonstrations climaxed by a demonstration in the City Council itself, the Republicans finally appropriated only one million dollars. The Republican City Council has shown that if the state goes Republican in this election the workers can expect drastic relief cuts, sales taxes, and the elimination of all labor laws.

The Republicans on a state and national scale are opposed to adequate housing projects and have gone on record against them in the State Legislature. They opposed the Teachers Tenure Act which was finally passed by the Democratic majority. They also opposed the State Social Security and Old Age Pension Bill which was passed by the Democratic majority along the lines of the national Social Security Bill. In the statewide referendum a year ago the Republicans succeeded in defeating a proposed amendment to the State Constitution which would have permitted the levying of a state graduated income tax on the higher incomes.

The people of Pennsylvania must weigh this anti-labor record of deeds against the false words of the present Republican program.

THE ISSUE OF GRAFT IN THE CAMPAIGN

The Republican Party, trying to confuse the people on the most vital issues of the campaign—the needs of the people—has made one of its main issues the charge of graft against the

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Earle administration and the demand for "clean government." The charges are that there were favoritism and corruption by the Earle administration in the letting of government contracts and the administration of relief and other state departments. The struggle between the Democratic State Legislature, now in special session, and the Republican courts for jurisdiction over the investigation of these charges, still continues.

Nothing has so far been proved regarding these charges. But, certainly, we can suspect the existence of corruption within the state administration. No capitalist government is ever free from graft.

The Communist Party champions the struggle against corruption and graft, for which the people always pay the freight. We condemn swindling of the people through graft and corruption, whether indulged in by the Democratic or Republican Parties.

But the Republican Party does not come into court with clean hands. An examination of the record shows that election of the Republicans will not mean clean government but will mean putting into office a gang with a putrid record of corruption down the years to the present moment.

The Republican Party of Pennsylvania has its hands thickly smeared with graft. It is the party that gave birth to the infamous Bois Penrose and Vare machines, which were both always considered good for several hundred thousand votes. Harvey O'Conner, in his book, *Mellon's Millions,* gives the story of how Andrew Mellon built a corrupt political machine (Republican) and bought and stole elections.

The most vicious graft scandals today center around Republican officials. The Ruth Commission of the State Legislature, after investigating for a year, brought in a lengthy report only a few weeks ago, which exposed the Republican judiciary as riddled with corruption and graft. The Ruth Commission proved that judges privately and secretly canceled jury sentences which had been passed in open court, granted illegal paroles, placed white slavers on probation over and over again. The report showed that relatives of certain Republican Party committeemen are involved in numerous rackets and were arrested many times but never paid fines or went to jail. Republican committeemen caught accepting money on promise to free prisoners were scolded by the committing judge in private but not prosecuted. Big-shot numbers racketeers developed immunity to conviction. Many other charges were placed by the Ruth Commission against the Republican judiciary.

The most brutal scandal that has ever been made public in Philadelphia—the deliberate roasting to death of four convicts at Holmesburg prison by locking them in cells and then administering unbearable steam heat—was foreshadowed in the Ruth Commission's report. The higher-up Republicans responsible for the death of the convicts have not yet been touched in the investigation of the brutal murder of the four Holmesburg convicts.

The bankers behind the Republican ticket hope that the people of Pennsylvania will forget the brutal

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terror in company steel and coal towns, perpetrated by the coal and iron police established by the Republican administrations in previous years.

The reactionary Republican ticket is aided by the Lovestoneites and Trotskyites, who call the New Deal "equally reactionary" and fight against the building of a democratic front to defeat reaction.

The so-called third party movement, led by former Attorney General Margiotti, would in effect aid the Republicans by drawing some support, however small, from the Jones-Earle slate. It seems doubtful now whether Margiotti will actually put a third party ticket in the field. Margiotti, who ran against Earle in the primaries, was the first to bring against the Earle administration the graft charges which are used by the Republicans as their main campaign ammunition.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The Democratic Party of Pennsylvania, although containing some reactionary leaders, is primarily a party of the New Deal. The Earle-Kennedy administration has supported President Roosevelt. Under the Earle-Kennedy administration the workers have made gains. Relief appropriations have been passed, workers' compensation has been bettered, old-age pension and social security bills have been enacted, laws bettering the conditions of women workers have been put through, and the State Labor Relations Act was passed. The minimum 44-hour law was enacted but declared unconstitutional by the Republican State Supreme Court.

The program brought forward by Governor Earle in his proclamation of July 22, 1938, convening the special session of the State Legislature, also contrasts favorably with the reactionary record of the Republicans. Earle called for medical care for the unemployed; for an enlarged program of building projects, including schools; for state care of the mentally ill and feeble minded; and for relief appropriations. Some of these bills proposed by the Democratic Party have already been enacted into law; among them are: a relief appropriation of $25,000,000 for immediate needs, a bill calling for medical care to the unemployed, and a bill empowering the General State Authority to create additional projects to build and improve schools. A number of bills calling for housing projects and slum clearance were also introduced by the Democratic legislators. The Democratic Party opposed the sales tax in Philadelphia. It backed the proposed amendment to the state constitution calling for a graduated income tax, which was defeated in the last election by the Republicans.

The fact that the Democratic administration sponsored labor laws, including the Wagner Act, and passed a similar act on a state scale, shows that it heeded the voice of the workers who demanded the breaking of the grip of the company unions and the right of collective bargaining. The Democratic administration contrasts favorably with the reactionary Republican Party. Thomas Kennedy, leader of the C.I.O. in Pennsylvania, is in the lieutenant-governor's chair. The great labor movement of Pennsylvania succeeded in making its voice

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felt in the councils of government of the state. Hundreds of thousands of workers have joined the unions, both C.I.O. and A. F. of L. The great miners' and steel workers' unions of the C.I.O. have formed the steel ramrod for the resistance of the people to the reactionary wage-cutting campaign of the big monopolies who speak through the Republican Party. Hundreds of thousands of workers in such mass production industries as textile, radio, and metal, as well as food, transportation, and white collar workers, have joined in the powerful Pennsylvania union movement to maintain the American standard of living that the big employers backing the Republican Party are trying to tear down.

The Democratic Party has not fought aggressively enough for the needs of the Negroes and farmers. These shortcomings in the Democratic program can be overcome by strengthening the progressive wing within the New Deal. Only by clearly meeting the issue of a fight against reaction, only by championing the needs of all sections of the population, only by recognizing the great role played by labor in the political life of the state, can the New Deal defeat reaction in this election and maintain itself in power in Pennsylvania.

While pointing out these shortcomings in the Democratic platform, the Communist Party emphasizes that between the New Deal record of the Democratic Party and the Republican program of black reaction there can be only one choice—the defeat of the representatives of finance capital, the James-Davis slate. The Democratic Party still has time to come out and more vigorously champion the cause of the farmers and the Negro people, and to raise the woefully inadequate relief standards, in the present session of the Legislature. If this is done, the Republican demagogy will be defeated. The Jones-Earle slate, in its first election rally, at Hershey, has in general stated the basic issues of the campaign, that the gains won under the New Deal must be preserved against the attacks of reactionary Republicanism.

That the people can be united in a democratic front to win their demands is shown by the fact that in Philadelphia, citywide demonstrations of the C.I.O. the A. F. of L., Workers Alliance, Democratic Party leaders, and independent unions were conducted, which forced the Republican City Council to appropriate one million dollars for W.P.A. jobs. Similar united front actions were conducted in the First Congressional District of Philadelphia, and can now be achieved in many counties.

The people in the coal and steel areas of Western Pennsylvania have set an example for the rest of the state in their united campaign against reaction. In some mining and steel towns, broad conferences were called which included representatives of both the A. F. of L. and C.I.O unions, the Railroad Brotherhoods, Negroes, farmers, many Democratic Party functionaries, and Democratic organizations and candidates. The powerful Labor Day demonstrations which unified all these sections of the population in upholding the gains of the New Deal, and united the people against reactionary Republicanism,

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can be duplicated in other sections of the state. These conferences and demonstrations in both Philadelphia and Western Pennsylvania are proof that the most recent attempts of William Green to split the labor movement, and secure the election of the reactionary Senator Davis, can be defeated. The membership of the A. F. of L. and many local and state A. F. of L. leaders will reject Green's endorsement of the anti-labor reactionary Davis.

LESSONS OF THE PRIMARIES

The fact that the slate of Thomas Kennedy for governor, which was backed by Senator Guffey, polled over half a million votes in the Democratic primaries in May was a demonstration of the great influence of labor among the progressive forces in our state. The large Kennedy vote checked those reactionaries within the Democratic Party who wanted to ignore labor in formulating the program and in setting up the leadership of the party. The great United Mine Workers and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the C.I.O., together with other powerful C.I.O. unions in the basic industries of Pennsylvania, such as textile and radio, had succeeded in becoming powerful factors in the political life of the state, together with the progressives in the A. F. of L. and the Railroad Brotherhoods. The Kennedy slate was also successful in the farm counties, carrying most of the counties of the state and losing out mainly in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia where they also polled substantial votes.

The half million votes for Kennedy was a victory for the New Deal. The combined Democratic vote totaled 1,300,000 for the three slates. All three slates professed their acceptance of the New Deal and of Roosevelt as their leader. The New Deal was not the main issue. The issue was whether labor was to play a role in the councils of the Democratic Party. The outcome was that labor, polling a half million votes—C.I.O. and A. F. of L., farmers, and middle class professionals—became an important factor in the state political set-up.

The fact that the State Federation of Labor and the State C.I.O. Council have both officially endorsed Earl and Jones shows that trade union unity is being achieved behind the New Deal and that the sores of the primaries are being healed. The people are uniting to defeat the Republican Party.

The results of the Democratic primaries also showed the great role that the independent organizations of labor can play in the present campaign, such as Labor's Non-Partisan League, which was a driving force in building the democratic front to defeat reaction.

WHY THE COMMUNISTS RUN THEIR OWN TICKET

The Communist Party, in putting forward it own ticket, makes its main aim the victory of democracy over reaction. The main issue of this campaign is not socialism versus capitalism; it is progress, democracy and security, against reaction, union smashing and fascism. It is this realization that prompts the Communist Party to make as its primary aim, by the independent campaign it conducts, the defeat of reactionary Republicanism, which is the chief danger to security,

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democracy, and peace. The Communist Party, by its energetic independent campaign, gives added strength and stimulus to the fight to defeat reaction.

The Communist Party puts up its own candidates in the present elections (Mother Ella Reeve Bloor for Governor, Pat Toohey for U. S. Senator and Benjamin Carreathers for Lieutenant Governor), in order to further the organization of the democratic front of all progressives in the state to defeat the reactionary Republican slate. We put forward our own platform in the present elections, the platform adopted at the Tenth National Convention of the Party and adapted to the needs of the state. We point out the need for the Democrats to raise relief standards, to champion the demands of the Negro people, the farmers, the youth, the middle class in the cities. We bring before the people the need for an aggressive campaign to back President Roosevelt's declaration for quarantining the aggressor powers who are now trying to spread war throughout the world. We organize the people to defend democratic Spain and China against the attacks of the fascist aggressors. We bring before the people an exposure of the reactionary anti-labor character of Red-baiting. We educate the people as to the eventual goal of socialism, if poverty, war and unemployment are finally to be abolished, and we point to the shining example of the Soviet Union, which has created a new, socialist society. We stimulate all progressive forces into activity to achieve the main purpose, the most vital need of the people now—the defeat of the reactionary Republicans.

The Communist Party, in putting up its own ticket, not only conducts an independent agitational campaign for the democratic front, and for the defeat of the Republicans, but also conducts a recruiting drive, to strengthen and build the Communist Party and to build the *Daily Worker*. The Communist Party calls for the unification and the activization of all progressive forces in the state to defeat the Republican slate and ensure that the gains won under the New Deal will not be abolished. Progressive forces which backed the Kennedy slate should not be provoked by the occasional reactionary politician within the Democratic Party but should wholeheartedly enlist in the fight against reaction. Labor's Non-Partisan League, Progressive Democratic Clubs, the unions—both A. F. of L. and C.I.O.—the unemployed organizations, Negro organizations, peace organizations, Catholic and other church groups, youth organizations, can now be drawn aggressively into a unified fight of those believing in democracy and civil liberties, social security, and peace.

It is especially necessary for the labor forces in the campaign to work actively now among the national groups — Italians, Germans, Jews, Poles, Hungarians, etc.—with special committees and special language agitation, if the Republican Party is to be defeated. The smokescreen of graft charges and demagogy raised by the Republican Party must be wiped away and the real issues of economic demands and democratic rights presented clearly to the people.

The people can be stirred, in the final weeks of the campaign, to a uni-

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fied fight to preserve the civil rights of the organizations of the people; to preserve wage standards; to preserve and expand the great trade union movement of Pennsylvania, and to raise further the living conditions and relief standards of the workers. We must tear aside James' veil of liberalism and show that a victory for the Republican Party would mean a return to Hooverism, to company towns and company unionism, police terror, relief cuts, wage cuts, strengthening of fascism, and a war policy. To win jobs, security, democracy and peace, the Republican Party must be defeated in the present election campaign.

The Communist Party in this campaign aims first and foremost at the defeat of reactionary Republicanism; at the building of a solid and lasting democratic front with the backbone of a united trade union movement, for the demands of the people. It aims at strengthening and building the Communist Party into a more powerful and influential force against reaction in Pennsylvania, to guide the people of Pennsylvania on the road to socialism through the building of the democratic front, to make the Keystone state the keystone of the Communist Party, the keystone of the fight against reaction.

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THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN MINNESOTA

BY NAT ROSS
State Secretary, Communist Party, Minnesota

THE political strategy that the decisive section of big business is developing in its desperate effort to defeat the Farmer-Labor endorsed ticket, especially Governor Benson, was clearly indicated in the June primaries. The main section of Minnesota reaction turned down Martin Nelson, twice Republican candidate for Governor; and George Leach, now serving his fifth term as Mayor of Minneapolis. In place of Nelson and Leach, the most reactionary forces nominated the young Dakota County Attorney, Harold Stassen, who posed as a super-liberal.

This strategy of big business was foreseen by the Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party,* which spoke of "the project to bring forward the reactionary core of the Republican Party behind the mask of a progressive face and demagogic slogans." (Resolution on the Democratic Front.)

Another phase of this strategy of reaction was its support for Hjalmar Petersen and its raid of the Farmer-Labor column with the hope of defeating Governor Benson in the primaries; and if that failed to carry over as much of the Farmer-Labor primary split as possible into the general elections. Despite this reactionary concentration, Governor Benson was renominated, receiving almost 100,000 more votes than in the 1936 primaries, thus indicating a strong Farmer-Labor and New Deal sentiment in the state.

* Held in May, 1938—*The Editors.*

THE STASSEN CAMPAIGN

Since Harold Stassen is trying to pose as a liberal, it is well to establish a few incontrovertible facts. The overlords of Minnesota are the real rulers of the Republican Party. They include the United States Steel Corporation (Oliver Iron Mining Company); the big packers (Swift, Armour, etc.); the milling interests (General Mills and Pillsbury); the big banks (the First National of St. Paul, Northwestern National of Minneapolis); the railroads (Great Northern, Northern Pacific, etc.); and the public utilities (Northern States Power).

It is these giants of finance capital that really control Stassen, that finance his campaign, that dictate the policy of the liberal mask, that will dominate Stassen if he is elected, and whose real program will be carried out. Mr. Stassen is the candidate of the fascist-minded Wall Street corporations operating in Minnesota, the most vicious and bitter enemies of the workers, the farmers and the middle classes.

Nor is this fact a complete secret. For example, the *Skilling Mining Review,* which is the recognized organ of the United States Steel Corporation

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in Minnesota, says in its June editorial: "Many are already turning hopefully to Harold Stassen to perform this service [of defeating Benson]." The same appeal is made by the *Virginia Enterprise,* local mouthpiece of the Steel Trust on the Mesaba Iron Range. Indeed, led by the Twin City press, every reactionary newspaper in the state is openly clamoring for Stassen's election.

In addition, Stassen has the active support of the Silver Shirts in Minnesota, much as he may try to repudiate them. It is no accident that the well-known columnist, Cedric Adams, asked in his column recently: "What Hennepin Republican committee officer attended a recent Silver Shirt meeting and, as a result, is expected to resign shortly 'for the good of the party'?" Stassen has the public support of William Schilling, head of the Associated Farmers, an active vigilante organization intended to create physical strife between farmers and workers. He also has the support of the so-called independent company unions, organized by the Associated Industries of Minneapolis.

These, in brief, are some of Stassen's backers and supporters. Big business is trying to gather all of these forces together under a single leadership, and that means the reactionary Republican Party as the core, a small section of reactionary anti-New Deal Democrats, a clique of Hjalmar Petersen leaders who have sold out to big business,* and the Trotskyite gang which has foisted itself upon the teamsters' movement in Minneapolis.

In line with the dominant national Republican strategy and especially in the vanguard political state of Minnesota, where the overwhelming sentiment is pro-New Deal and pro-Farmer-Labor, and where many rank-and-file Republican voters stand for democracy and progress, Stassen, this most reactionary Republican candidate, must try at all costs to appear as a liberal.

The technique of the reactionaries, to which Stassen's technique conforms, was described accurately by Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International:

> "American fascism . . . comes forward principally in the guise of opposition to fascism . . . [it] tries to portray itself as the custodian of the Constitution and 'American Democracy.' "*

It was also characterized by Comrade Browder at the Tenth National Convention of the Communist Party:

> "The reactionaries, therefore, have one main tactic and strategy today: to confuse the issues at all costs, resort to demagogy, break the unity of the democratic front, divide the people in order to conquer them. . . . It is the strategy of Hitler. 'Liberty' is to be identified with reaction; everything progressive and democratic is labeled 'Red,' 'Communist' and 'Orders from Moscow.' "**

After his nomination on the Republican ticket, Stassen began his first demagogic barrage, asking voters in all parties to join with him in a "people's crusade" to defeat Governor Benson. In his keynote address on September 2, he further said:

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* The main Petersen leadership and the overwhelming Farmer-Labor rank and file who supported Peterson are now pro-Benson.

* Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front.* International Publishers, New York.

** Earl Browder, *The Democratic Front.* Workers Library Publishers, New York.

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". . . this is not a campaign against the Farmer-Labor Party but rather against that small group of political bosses who have taken the control of that party away from its rank and file and away from the ideals of its founders."

Stassen even claims to be more liberal than Governor Benson. He poses as the true inheritor of the principles of the Farmer-Labor founders and Floyd B. Olson which Governor Benson has "corrupted." He claims that he alone is presenting the true issues, and "with shrewdness and malicious cunning [the Farmer-Labor Party] will try to distract the people from the issues of the campaign."

In his keynote address he promises more jobs to workers and more purchasing power to farmers. He promises further not to be niggardly with relief, and pledges more adequate old-age pensions and security. He promises to respect the rights of labor and the trade union movement, to establish labor peace and to rid the state of class hatred and intolerance. He praises labor relations in the Scandinavian countries, but does not add that the Scandinavian countries have progressed under the leadership of labor governments supported by the farmers and strong labor movements.

All of these promises have been placed on record in the Republican platform, a fact that is causing some uneasiness among the Old Guard Republicans who do not yet fully understand the new tactic of "liberalism." Even in his keynote address, however, Stassen shows his true attitude toward labor when he says that new regional plants can be located in Minnesota "if the disadvantages which now exist are improved," which means that wages must be cut, taxes must be shifted from the corporations to the people, and corporation profits protected.

Stassen also employs his line of demagogy on the tax question. He declares that if he is governor, the government will spend less. It is a fact that the Farmer-Labor spending has been almost entirely for necessary social service, combined with general governmental economy. Stassen does not say how he intends to spend less and yet provide adequate old-age pensions and security, and not be niggardly with relief. Actually the real problem in Minnesota recently has not been how much is to be spent. but how to raise that which has been agreed on as necessary to spend. The Farmer-Labor Party has taken the correct position of levying taxes according to the ability to pay; of taxing the steel corporation and the other Wall Street trusts; of easing the tax on the farmer, the home owner, the merchant, the small income group; and of uncompromising opposition to the sales tax. But Stassen also says that he is opposed to the sales tax, as did Martin Nelson in the 1936 campaign. His fellow Republicans, however, Mayors Leach of Minnesota and Fallon of St. Paul, have openly declared that they will fight for an enabling act in the Legislature allowing the Twin Cities to finance relief costs by a sales tax. Everybody knows that a reactionary legislature would very willingly oblige Mayor Leach and Mayor Fallon, and that Stassen as Governor would go along with this big business demand, despite his present opposition to a sales tax.

On one question in particular Stassen shows that he has carefully

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copied the Hitler technique, and that is on the question of peace. In his keynote address he said:

". . . the next war, if it comes, will be a death battle for supremacy between the Communists and the Fascists. This struggle is already in the making in Spain and in the Orient.

"One certain way for us to be involved in that next war is to either flirt with Fascism or coddle Communism. Anyone who opposes war with one breath and supports either Communism or Fascism with the next is hypocritical. We observed a striking example of this when Congressman Bernard of this state, who proclaims to be for peace and against war and fascism, went to Spain and there advocated that this country send arms, munitions and men to be involved in their Civil War.

"Obviously, he is more interested in the success of one side of that war than he is in peace for this country."

Under this isolationist guise of seeming to attack equally fascism and communism, Stassen shows himself clearly to be the bitter enemy of the democracies and of peace for America, and actually the supporter of the aggressor, war-making, fascist nations. And that is actually the program of his backers. On this question the Farmer-Labor Party has taken a position against the war-making powers, and Congressmen Bernard and Teigan in particular have shown themselves to be real statesmen in the fight for world peace.

It is on this question too that the fascist Trotskyites show how they play the Stassen game. In their scurrilous *Northwest Organizer,* they conduct a slander campaign against Congressman Bernard, as does Stassen, and attack the Farmer-Labor platform plank, which distinguishes between the fascist aggressors and the victims of aggression. In this manner the Trotskyites and Stassen cooperate with the fascists to fight against an American policy for peace.

Stassen's technique of out-liberaling the liberals has not had smooth sailing even in his own ranks. Sharp friction has developed within the Republican Party. The Nelson forces, representing mainly the old-line Republicans, and the Leach forces in Minneapolis are fighting for the leadership in the Republican Party against the Stassen group which has taken over the main offices. At the same time, these factions do not see eye to eye with Stassen on all matters of tactics and policy. In the Second Congressional District, where Stassen has come out for the anti-New Deal Democratic Congressman Ryan against the Republican nominee, O'Hara, there is developing a sharp factional fight. Furthermore, friction has developed between the younger Stassen Republicans and the old-line reactionaries in practically every county organization.

The Stassen campaign is not confined to the Republican Party. Various all-party groups have been organized, composed of reactionary Democrats and scattered Farmer-Labor and trade union reactionaries.

Further, the Stassen apparatus includes a small clique of Petersen leaders, organized as the Independent Progressive Voters League, a high-sounding name to cover up their sell-out to big business. Included in this group are a few Coughlin leaders. This group will have the task of appearing as true Farmer-Laborites, as loyal followers of the elder Lindbergh, Floyd Olson, etc. Theirs will be the

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job of the most extreme mud-slinging and name-calling and the wildest Red-baiting, leaving Stassen free to conduct a more "gentlemanly" campaign.

Finally, the Stassen apparatus will actually include the Trotskyites. Up to within two weeks of the primaries, the Trotskyites openly attacked the Farmer-Labor Party, and supported Hjalmar Petersen. However, on the eve of the primaries, they reversed their position and came out publicly for Governor Benson. This maneuver was forced because the open opposition to the Farmer-Labor Party had led to mass resentment against them within their own stronghold, the General Drivers Union, Local 544, which almost led to the defeat of their candidate for president of the union. Secondly, they felt that the best way to injure the Benson campaign was ostensibly to come out for Benson, while continuing to carry out their splitting policy in the trade union movement.

It is the Trotskyites who are leading the war in Minneapolis against the C.I.O.; it is they who are trying to knife the organization of a farm-and-labor committee for Benson by their opposition to the inclusion of the C.I.O.; it is they who have by their terroristic methods alienated farmers, cooperators, and small merchants from the labor and Farmer-Labor movement, thus leading to the building of fascist company unions, the Associated Farmers, and other fascist groupings. By their policy of trying to prevent the unity of labor and its alliance with the farmers and middle class, the Trotskyites are actively playing the game of big business, and are enabling Stassen to utilize the differences within the labor movement to woo sections of the farm and middle class population, some of whom are not entirely friendly to labor. That is why the Trotskyites are the most dangerous clique within the trade union movement, threatening the unity of labor and the victory of the Farmer-Labor movement by their splitting and Red-baiting activities in behalf of the Stassen candidacy.

Stassen has been the County Attorney of Dakota County for three terms. During this period he has shown himself to be the servant of the big packers. In 1933 he helped to break the Armour strike by prosecuting strike leaders and collaborating with the company in blacklisting 35 active union men. Only last year he joined with the Lund Ski Company in blacklisting a number of strikers, members of the Carpenters Union. His other connections in Dakota County are equally unsavory and reactionary. All of them together reveal the true Stassen as a reactionary hiding behind a liberal mask.

Stassen's real program is the program of big business; the program of opposing and sabotaging the New Deal; of preparing Minnesota now by a Republican victory in 1938 for the fight against the New Deal in the 1940 elections; of wage-cutting for workers and price-cutting for farmers; of supporting the monopolists against the independent merchants; of increasing profits for the Wall Street corporations; of attacking the civil liberties of the people; of smashing the trade union movement under the guise of attacking the Left wing, and of building up the fascist company

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unions, the Associated Farmers, etc.: and of destroying the people's Farmer-Labor Party under the guise of fighting communism. Wage cuts; poverty for the farmers; bankruptcy for the merchants; big profits for the monopolies; advance toward reaction, fascism, and war—this is the real program of Stassen and his backers. This is the real program which Stassen is so desperately trying to cover up behind the mask of liberalism.

THE FARMER-LABOR CAMPAIGN

The Farmer-Labor Party is entering the present campaign on the basis of its record of definite achievements for the workers, farmers, and middle classes, and with a clear-cut issue. The real issue in Minnesota, is, *for or against the New Deal;* with the Farmer-Labor Party as the vigorous champion of the New Deal in the state and nationally, and the Republican Party as its bitterest enemy.

The Farmer-Labor state administration, as well as most of its Congressional delegation, has supported and championed the New Deal nationally in its fight for the passage of legislation beneficial to the general welfare. The 1938 platform of the Farmer-Labor Party continues this policy of support to the interests of the workers, farmers and middle classes. The Farmer-Labor platform is to a large degree identical with the New Deal program, translating the New Deal demands into Minnesota's needs. Especially significant in this connection is the fight made by Governor Benson for social security for the people of Minnesota, and for economic recovery along the lines of the New Deal. Governor Benson's consistent application of New Deal principles throughout his first administration has brought substantial results for the people. This is true, despite the sit-down strike of big capital, which hoped to accelerate and deepen the economic crisis and place the blame for this on the New Deal and the Farmer-Labor administration.

As a result of sound, progressive agricultural and labor policies and the absence of any sales tax, Minnesota retail sales were in August 15 per cent higher than in the rest of the country, and Dunn and Bradstreet have recently rated Minnesota as first economically in the nation. The enactment of President Roosevelt's relief and recovery program was expedited by vigorous support of Governor Benson and the Farmer-Labor Congressional forces. And as the present campaign enters its home stretch, it becomes clearer than ever that the problem of improving the conditions of the farmers, the workers and merchants, of achieving recovery for the people, requires the election of the New Deal forces in Minnesota, headed by Governor Benson.

THE FARMER-LABOR-NEW DEAL ALLIANCE

It is on the basis of these achievements and this program that there is developing a broad alliance between the Farmer-Labor Party and the New Deal Democrats in Minnesota, similar in substance, if not in form, to the 1936 alliance of the Democratic and Farmer-Labor forces behind President Roosevelt and Governor Benson. Everything indicates that Governor and the Farmer-Labor ticket, as true champions of the New Deal, will have

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the encouragement and support of President Roosevelt, and the active support of every true New Dealer in Minnesota. This is indicated by the developing support to Governor Benson on the part of the various groupings in the Minnesota Democratic Party who support the New Deal. It is indicated also, even if in a negative manner, by the recent speech of Jim Farley in Duluth, in which he declared: "No Democrat who has any regard for the future of the party will give the Republican leaders any aid in this plan [of defeating Governor Benson]."

In addition to this, the most representative all-party committees for Governor Benson are being organized of liberals and New Dealers in the Republican Party, and in the Democratic Party. It is clear that all liberals, regardless of party, are uniting behind Governor Benson, and all reactionaries are disregarding party labels to support Stassen.

Along with this basic alliance of all the New Deal forces in the state behind the Farmer-Labor ticket, there is being organized a powerful mass apparatus of the rank and file through the Farmer-Labor Association Precinct Captains.

The foundations for the organized mass activity for the Farmer-Labor campaign is the trade union movement. Here it can be said that the A. F. of L., the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the C.I.O. are all united behind Governor Benson. However, a vicious role was played by William Green in his endorsement of the three Republican Congressional incumbents, and of the Republican Pittinger, opponent of John T. Bernard. Aside from the Trotskyites and a small clique of hard-boiled reactionaries in the A. F. of L., there is every indication that the A. F. of L. membership will repudiate the dictates of William Green and support the entire Farmer-Labor state and Congressional ticket. This is seen in the campaign for Congressman Bernard, where two Central Bodies and a large number of A. F. of L. and Brotherhood leaders throughout the district have repudiated the contemptible endorsement of William Green and his local stooges and are developing an aggressive mobilization of the A. F. of L. and Railroad Brotherhoods in the Eighth District behind John T. Bernard and the entire Farmer-Labor ticket.

THE WORK OF OUR PARTY

The Communists in Minnesota are loyally and energetically working for building, broadening, and uniting the democratic front of all of the common people against reaction. Our Party has the task of combatting sectarian trends within its own ranks, which are a reflection of sectarian moods within the mass movement, as indispensable for the successful unification and building of the democratic front. At the same time, we have the task of combatting all tendencies of hiding the face of our Party and its full program—tendencies which merely feed the Red-baiters rather than help to defeat them. We support the Farmer-Labor candidates because the Farmer-Labor Party defends the immediate needs of the masses of people and defends democracy. In the present campaign, certain Red-baiters are, of course, demagogically charging the

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Farmer-Labor Party, its platform, its leadership, with being Communistic. The Farmer-Labor Party is a broad mass party operating within the confines of capitalism, for the defense of democracy and the needs of the people. The Communist Party supports the Farmer-Labor forces in this immediate objective. At the same time the Communist Party stands for its full program of socialism.

During this campaign the Communist Party is striving to build its own ranks, to spread its message through the *Daily Record,* literature, leaflets, the radio, etc. In this way we can best contribute to the defeat of reaction in the 1938 elections, to strengthen the democratic front and build the Communist Party.

As Minnesota enters the home stretch of his crucial election campaign, there is no question that the people must rise to the need of the hour. There must take place the unification and further organization of all forces that want jobs and security, that love peace and democracy. In this campaign labor must unite its forces and join in a common effort with the farmers and middle classes for the defeat of the big business Republican Party headed by the reactionary demagogue, Harold Stassen, and for a sweeping victory for the New Deal forces in Minnesota, headed by Governor Benson, and for the entire Farmer-Labor slate of candidates for state office, for Congress, and for the State Legislature.

"We should constantly study our Party documents, and not leave them to gather dust on our shelves. We are the bearers of American culture and civilization and we must use every hour to qualify ourselves for that noble and historic role."—Earl Browder, *The Democratic Front,* p. 68.

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THE PEOPLE OF CHILE UNITE TO SAVE DEMOCRACY

BY CARLOS CONTRERAS LABARCA

General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile

[*This article, of which the first instalment is here published, was written by Comrade Contreras Labarca during his recent visit to the United States. It deals with the outstanding political problems confronting the Chilean people. Chile, because of the growing strength of its People's Front, has become one of the center points in Latin America of democracy's struggle against fascism. The recent putsch of the German-led Nazis and the role played by former Dictator Ibanez, have corroborated the excellent analysis made by Comrade Labarca and have set the stage for a decisive struggle between the forces of fascism and reaction and the forces of democracy. —The Editors.*]

INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE

THE growing conflict in Chile over the impending presidential election to be held in October is by no means a matter of concern to the Chilean people alone. It involves not a mere contest for the position of chief executive, but a decisive battle between the people and the oligarchy, between the forces of democracy and those of reaction, of fascism.

The international proletariat and the broad masses of toilers of all countries, especially of the United States and Latin America, must give their solidarity and their active support to the people of Chile. The triumph of the anti-fascist forces of Chile would mean a victory of the world front for peace and liberty and would stimulate considerably the efforts of the peoples of our hemisphere to save themselves from the barbarous domination of reaction and fascism. On the other hand, defeat would mean strengthening and extending the positions of the fascist aggressors throughout the world, particularly in the countries of Latin America, already the object of the most sinister plans of invasion and conquest.

If our people can crush, as we hope, the plans of reaction aiming to impede the free expression of the popular will by means of violence, fraud, bribery and intrigue, we can assure our brothers of the continent that the People's Front, if it wins power, will accomplish its historic mission of transforming Chile into a bulwark and champion of peace, democracy and independence of the peoples.

THE CHILEAN PEOPLE'S FRONT

In August, 1935, the Communist

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Party issued an urgent call to the country to form a national united front in defense of peace, democracy and national independence. But not until March, 1936, after the violent suppression of the general strike of the railroad workers, with the additional repressive measures adopted by the government, was it possible to create this organization, transforming the "Parliamentary Bloc of the Left" into the People's Front. The fact is that the toiling masses, correcting the sectarianism of some of their leaders, and overcoming the sabotage of the Trotskyites, had begun before this date to lay the basic foundations of the People's Front.

The formation of the People's Front has been a historic event of far-reaching importance.

The People's Front has been able, until now, to save the country from falling into the jaws of fascism. In spite of relentless efforts reaction has not succeeded in enslaving the people according to its plans. The proletariat has successfully defended its gains and obtained some advancement. The Parliament elected two years ago does not reflect the present correlation of the forces in the country, but in the last months the government has received only one majority vote on the acute problems, and just recently has lost by nine votes its proposal to raise tariffs in favor of the Bond and Share Trust. In the municipal elections in March, 1938, the People's Front obtained majorities in all the provincial and departmental capitals and industrial centers; reaction carried the rural districts. The campaign to elect Don Pedro Aguirre, People's Front candidate, for the presidency, arouses greater enthusiasm every day and makes it easier to reach the most backward sections of the population, especially the rural masses. Hundreds of committees have been formed all over the country.

These facts prove that the People's Front is consolidating and extending itself, and that the masses put their faith in it.

The people are disgusted, as they have every reason to be, with the traditional forms of Chilean politics. The "National-Socialist Movement" (the Nazi party) exploited this disillusionment demagogically to keep them out of all parties. The People's Front has nothing to do with the old time-serving politics which covered many men and parties with ignominy, and repudiates them. It applies a new policy, honest and clear, drawn from the historic experience of our people and in accordance with their civic conscience. This policy raises to the category of fundamental principles the following:

The supreme law is popular unity for national emancipation and democracy;

Nothing behind the people's backs;

Mass policy and action;

Responsibility and discipline.

A valuable index of the people's confidence in this organization is the stimulus which the Communist Party has received. We now have seven deputies and one senator; previously we had two deputies. We now have sixty councilmen; before we had only three. We have four Communist mayors in mining centers. The Party press is growing. Our meetings become bigger and more numerous every day. Our leaders have great prestige with

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the masses. Senator Elias Lafertte, Chairman of the Party, is a respected and beloved national leader.

Another of the factors contributing to the growth of the People's Front and the winning of the popular confidence has been the subordination of each party's practical activity to the policy of anti-fascist unity, to the general interest of the movement. This has done much to check the individualistic attitudes and the tricks of intrigue, hypocrisy and sabotage. The Communist Party has given examples of fidelity to the pacts. Thus, it has authority to declare its opinion that these sound principles of true political morale must be binding on all and that none shall brazenly violate them.

TROTSKYISM—THE ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE

The dangers threatening this unity, built up so laboriously, are tremendous. They result particularly from the presence of the Trotskyites, the "fifth column" in the People's Front. Until a short time ago these formed a tiny group calling itself "Chilean section of the Fourth International"; but faced by the prospect of asphyxia and isolation they decided to enter the Socialist Party. Unfortunately, in spite of the fraternal warnings of the Communist Party, they were accepted individually by the Socialist Party. The Trotskyites announced that they came into the People's Front "to work for the liquidation of it from within," and for the first time they have acted in accordance with their declarations. Some thought that the disappearance of Trotskyism as an independent organization, and its absorption by a party of the People's Front, the Socialist Party, would be advantageous to the revolutionary movement. The ideas came up not only outside the Communist Party but they also found certain reflections inside it. These illusions weakened the fight against Trotskyism, facilitated its maneuvering, and permitted the counter-revolutionary poison to enter, unchecked, into the ranks of the national liberation movement. The Trotskyites, now that they are working in a mass movement and covering themselves with its banner, constitute a serious menace to the unity and development of the People's Front, as well as of the Socialist Party, and a source of the most serious complications in the relations between the Socialist and the Communist Party.

THE NATIONAL BASIS OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

The People's Front takes the national factor as a powerful instrument for developing the anti-fascist movement. Its program, its slogans, its external forms are saturated with this spirit.

It has embraced the best national traditions, the yearning of the masses for liberation, for national greatness and dignity; it has taken patriotism and its symbols, purified of any taint of chauvinism.

The attempt of reaction to make the People's Front seem an artificial product "created by agents of Moscow" is shown up, every day more glaringly, as a gross lie.

The People's Front has exposed the oligarchy in its true character as an anti-national ring. By means of an old document, dug up from the archives, the Communist Party has been able to

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prove that in the first years of the struggle for emancipation, which began in 1810, there was a group of Chilean aristocrats who repudiated the "nefarious" revolutionaries against the authority of the king of Spain, and who declared themselves content to live under his rule. The document was signed by fifty exalted personages of the time. Precisely those who combat the People's Front today and make secret pacts with fascism to maintain foreign oppression are the descendants of the fifty families who a hundred years ago committed treason against the cause of Chilean liberty.

Of course, reaction, the "National-Socialist Party" and the Trotskyites have united to attack the People's Front and especially the Communist Party for its correct position respecting national sentiment, which cannot be alien to us Communists, loyal sons of our people.

FASCIST PENETRATION

What efforts the oligarchy has expended to hinder the creation of the People's Front! What efforts to dislocate and disperse it, to reduce it to illegality, to provoke it to act of desperation! With Machiavellian cleverness the oligarchy has engineered intrigue, calumny, provocation, and subordination. But all in vain.

For more than two years it has concentrated frantically on this perverse activity and has felt the proof of its impotence. In this permanent war against the people, with the hope of preventing the people's victory, it has dedicated itself furiously to the task of demolishing the democratic institutions by intensified repression, of exterminating the people by starvation, of depressing the national economy by subordinating it to the interests of the international bankers, of decreasing ever more the buying power of the masses by decreeing new privileges to a handful of implacable, rapacious feudal landlords. President Alessandri has proclaimed brutally, "The country has not yet made all the sacrifices that are necessary."

Its own experience has not been sufficient. It has gone to study the experience and methods of international fascism. Such was the cynical confession of Gustavo Ross, the present candidate of the parties of the Right for the Presidency of the Republic. After visiting Berlin and Rome by special invitation of Hitler and Mussolini he declared that he hoped to put into practice in Chile the lessons he had learned there.

In reality, the fascization process of the governing clique is very far advanced, perhaps further than in any other Latin American country, except Brazil.

Chile has not been publicly incorporated into the so-called "Anti-Communist Pact"; but the Chilean government acts as if it were subordinate to the countries subscribing to that alliance of war.

In international policy the Alessandri government has tried to cover with the name of our country the policy of the totalitarian powers against the League of Nations (proposal "on the universality of the League of Nations" and notification of the withdrawal of Chile from that organization) and against the national independence of the peoples. Regarding Spain, it has adopted an attitude which arouses the indignation of the people: the em-

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bassy in Madrid was transformed into a center of espionage and conspiracy against the Republican government; it took the initiative to deprive Loyalist Spain of a place in the Council of the League of Nations. Regarding Ethiopia, it took the initiative to solicit the revocation of the economic sanctions against Italy.

In economic policy it has given the fascist countries the opportunity to win first place in our international commerce, displacing the United States, and to carry on dumping.

A foreign army has been organized in the national territory, under the protection of the government, with German Nazis, Italian fascists, and Spanish supporters of Franco, under military armament, ready to be used against our people.

The southern zone of the country is occupied by Germans and descendants of Germans made arrogant by Hitler's declarations about "the protection" which the Third Reich offers them. The House of Krupp has an application pending for the concession of the Chilean forest reserves adjacent to the Strait of Magellan—of tremendous strategic importance from the point of view of hegemony in the Pacific.

The armament plan which the Alessandri government is carrying out is based on acquisitions in the fascist countries.

The war against Spain and China is aided directly by those who govern Chile. They supply the aggressors abundantly with nitrate, copper and other raw materials.

The anti-Chilean oligarchy has opened the doors of our country to the fascist *conquistadors* and receives from them economic, financial, political, diplomatic and military support. The Gestapo works in Chile as if it were quite at home. Espionage, terrorism, extortion are its methods.

How will the enemy in Chile act in the immediate future? Will it make a preventive coup against the People's Front as Vargas did in Brazil in November, 1937? Will it follow the example of Benavides, in Peru, who when the forces of democracy were victorious at the polls, annulled the elections dictatorially and prolonged his presidential term? Will it organize civil war to facilitate foreign invasion, as in the case of Spain?

This is the likeliest course of Chilean reaction. There is one unmistakeable fact: it will not go into power peacefully; on the contrary, it is notoriously preparing for civil war against the people.

The strategy and the tactics of the People's Front must, then, take into consideration that the oligarchy has important resources, within the country and outside it, to preserve power.

Recognizing the extreme seriousness of the danger threatening us, the Chilean people are fortifying their unity. They have answered the arrogance of those striving to turn our country into a totalitarian state, with the irrevocable verdict, *"Chile shall not be a colony of fascism."*

(To be concluded in the November issue.)

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THE WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

BY CARL ROSS

National Executive Secretary, Young Communist League

Few events in recent years have made as deep an impression upon the American people as has the recently-held Second World Youth Congress. The press, radio, newsreels and the activities of the congress itself brought it to the attention of millions. Its influence will be far-reaching in helping to shape the course of development of the movement for peace, both internationally and in the United States. It should be viewed as not only a congress establishing unity of youth, but as a movement that makes a significant contribution to strengthening the entire movement of the people for democracy and peace.

Undoubtedly the convening of a world congress of youth for peace at a time when war rages in several parts of the world and threatens peace everywhere is in itself a great achievement. It is precisely its timeliness that demonstrates that the working class and the peace-loving peoples of the world are rallying against fascist aggression.

This congress, the most representative international gathering ever held, was an outstanding success. First, the scope and breadth of the united youth movement has been extended and further developed. Second, the congress played an important role in advancing the policy of concerted action for peace. In uniting masses of non-fascist youth upon this policy on a world scale, the basis of the entire movement for peace was broadened.

The procedure and the conclusions of the congress were in themselves the best refutation of the lies and slanders of the Dies Committee which attempted to smear the Vassar gathering as "Red." Red-baiting by members of the Catholic hierarchy and the Dies Committee failed to evoke a response other than a strong defense of the congress from such false charges. Obviously, the presence of a small minority of Communists composed of one delegate from the Young Communist League, U.S.A.; the delegates from the Young Communist International; and several Communists from other countries, was insufficient to convince any honest and intelligent person that the congress was "Red." This effort to embarrass the congress proved a miserable failure.

Of special significance is the fact that this congress was in every sense of the word a world congress. In contrast to the First Congress, which was attended by delegates from about 35 countries, there were 54 countries represented at Vassar. The principal difference was the large participation from colonial and semi-colonial countries. In fact, so well were these coun-

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tries represented, that of approximately 500 delegates nearly 200 were from Latin America alone. The presence of these large delegations from South and Central America was of great importance to the Western Hemisphere in welding a firmer unity of the peoples and governments of all the Americas for peace and democracy.

The United States delegation from 60 organizations was composed of representatives of all important youth organizations, with the exception of the Catholic youth groups. The Boy Scouts sent only observers. Among these organizations were: the Committee for Industrial Organization and about nine international unions, including one A. F. of L. international union; the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the United Christian Youth Movement, which represents nearly all Protestant church youth groups; the Farm Bureau Federation, the American Country Life Association, the Farmers Union, and the Agricultural Workers Union; the American Jewish Congress and other important Jewish groups; the National Negro Congress, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, and the Southern Negro Youth Congress; the National Student Federation of America, the Student Christian Movement, and the American Student Union. In short, the U. S. delegation was in itself one of the most representative groups of delegations of youth organizations ever assembled in this country.

THE U. S. INFLUENCE UPON THE CONGRESS

The deliberations of the congress were influenced in their course by the very fact that it took place in the United States. Recognition of the congress in the form of greetings in the name of the government and in the participation of Administration officials in the sessions helped to scotch the slanders of the Red-baiters and to lend weight to the results. Without doubt, the governments of the world watched carefully to see what the voice of 40,000,000 youth would have to say, and took heed of its conclusions. That the New Deal Administration should have given semi-official recognition to such a congress is only natural, since its declarations were fully in line with the pronouncements of major Administration spokesmen.

Roosevelt's appeal to "quarantine the war-makers and treaty-breakers" and Secretary of State Hull's repeated statements to the same effect found a responsive and effective sounding board in the congress. In fact, the Roosevelt "quarantine the aggressor" policy helped shape the course of the congress, which, in turn, enlarged the importance of the congress in American political life as a medium for carrying the message of concerted action for peace to the people of the entire country.

Without the application of a Good Neighbor policy within the congress itself, the unity of Latin American and U. S. delegations would have been impossible; for these delegates from colonial and semi-colonial countries came with deeply ingrained and often justified prejudices against the United States and other imperialist powers. The development of unity around a common policy of opposition to fascist aggression and penetration between the delegates of the Americas helped

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lay the foundation for the unity of the delegations of all countries. The role of the Good Neighbor policy as a keystone to world cooperation for peace thus demonstrated itself. The achievement of solidarity and good neighborliness among the delegates of the Western hemisphere was made possible only through the sharp criticism by the U. S. delegates of our government for failing, in a number of instances, to apply the Good Neighbor policy; and through the realization by the Latin American delegates that fascist aggression and penetration which are aided by reactionary imperialist elements in the United States constitute the chief danger.

The influence within the congress both of the U. S. youth movement and of the policies enunciated by Roosevelt and Hull gave ample proof that the influence of the United States can be decisive in bringing about the application of a policy of concerted action to stop the aggressors. The congress, which will have gone far towards shattering isolationist sentiments among the American people, also gave proof that they in their majority are moving in the direction of fully accepting the policy advocated by the President in his famous October 5 speech of last year, for quarantining the aggressor.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CONGRESS UPON THE U. S.

The delegation representing the youth of our country embraced all the conflicting trends and currents to be found among the people; in fact, the opening sessions of the congress found the delegation sharply divided. Its majority, including the representatives of the trade unions, the Negro groups, Jewish organizations, and such Christian organizations as the Young Women's Christian Association and Young Men's Christian Association, the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, the Evangelical and Reformed Church, and the Young Communist League, strongly favored a clear-cut policy of concerted action for peace. A minority composed of certain Protestant Church group representatives, pacifists, the Young People's Socialist League delegate, and the Socialist (Trotskyite-Lovestoneite influenced) "Youth Committee Against War," proposed an alternative program against any form of collective security.

But how could any sincere opponent of war propose stupid and futile isolation to a gathering of young people from the four corners of the earth? Isolation as a means of keeping America out of war became obviously bankrupt when brought face to face with reality. Desperate efforts of the Young People's Socialist League to hold together a unified anti-collective security group failed; for fundamental differences became apparent within the group on their attitude to the struggle for peace. The differences manifested themselves between the Christian youth, who are firm believers in the principle of world "brotherhood of man" and international cooperation, and the Socialists, who reject all efforts at cooperation between nations. The pacifists are convinced that they must try to influence the foreign policy of the government in order to stay out of war, while the Socialists have systematically rejected all organized mass struggle to influence governments for

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peace. This fact also created distinct differences. Efforts to bridge the widening gap by injecting the anti-Roosevelt program of the "Keep America Out of War" committee failed to restore complete harmony among the minority.

Throwing overboard their adherence to a strict isolationist position, the minority joined with the entire American delegation in accepting a program of seven points based upon the August 15 speech of Cordell Hull. Even the delegate of the Y.P.S.L., not desiring to be a minority of one, voted for this program which outlined a basis for international cooperation for peace and is a step in the direction of collective security.

Hull's speech urged the reversal of "the present ominous drift toward international anarchy and armed conflict," "adherence to the basic principles of international law," "respect for and observance of treaties," and "abstention from the use of force in pursuit of national policies." The most significant of the seven points calls for "support of international cooperation in such ways and by such methods as may be practicable and which will advance and not contradict the program."

In thus accepting the principle of international cooperation, the entire delegation gave recognition to the fact that there are nations that break treaties and refuse to abide by international law, and that there are nations obligated to cooperate to restrain the treaty violators. This is the most elementary principle upon which a policy of collective security is based. But while accepting the principle, the pacifists and a number of Christian groups failed to see the necessity for concerted diplomatic, moral, and economic action to make this principle effective.

In interpreting this point these groups declared that "the United States, while cooperating for the attainment of peace, must refrain from participating in concerted action with other nations to coerce a particular nation by diplomatic agreement, economic embargo, and military assistance."

In that it speaks of "cooperating for the attainment of peace," this is a step in the direction of a realistic peace policy; it undoubtedly reflects a strong trend away from isolationism among the people. But it contains elements that can be of serious danger.

If these groups, especially of pacifists, accept the phrase "international cooperation" without understanding that it must be followed by support for specific measures for restoring and maintaining peace, they will act as a dangerous brake upon the masses who more and more express their desire for an effective policy of struggle for peace. This danger can be met only by the most patient and persistent explanation of the precise steps that the United States must take in order to become a positive force for peace. It is especially necessary to show to the pacifists who honestly fear and hate war that their passive do-nothing attitude only adds fuel to the flames of war: that the only manner in which they can keep America out of war is by helping to keep war out of the world. It is necessary to show the practical steps that the United States can take to meet the situation as it exists today, measures that also form

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the basis for concerted action with the other democratic nations, including the Soviet Union, and are the logical implementation of the "Seven-Point Program." That a more extensive basis for this work has been developed by the Vassar Congress is manifest. It follows that all the active peace forces must utilize these favorable conditions to press further towards bringing the policy of the United States in line with the declarations of its President.

Among the youth there is the specific task of uniting those millions of young people in our country who were represented at Vassar.

THE COLONIAL QUESTION

The World Youth Congress in the Vassar Pact affirmed that "there can be no permanent peace without justice between nations and within nations, or without their recognition of the right to self-determination of countries and colonies seeking their freedom." It was upon this premise that unity of the youth of imperialist, colonial and semi-colonial countries was cemented, for the common struggle against aggression. In adopting this program the congress correctly indicated that struggle for self-determination and freedom for subject peoples is advanced by struggle against fascist aggression, which bullies and ravages the weaker nations.

But this was opposed by the young Socialists from the U. S., who demagogically attempted to seize upon the anti-imperialist sentiments of delegates of colonial and semi-colonial countries in an effort to block the adoption of a realistic peace policy. Al Hamilton, Chairman of the Young People's Socialist League, stated:

> "The struggle for freedom for colonial peoples, and for self-determination is incompatible with the doctrine often called collective security, or concerted action."

The National Secretary of the Y.P.S.L. offers the further explanation in the *Socialist Call* for September 3, that ". . . it was brought home most clearly that support of collective security means the suspension of the colonial struggle for freedom."

Since this is one of the principal arguments from the "Left" against collective security by those who fall under the influence of the Trotskyite-Lovestoneite agents of fascism, it is worth examining more closely.

Fascism represents the greatest menace to the aspirations of the colonial peoples for freedom and social well being. Fascism would bring unbearable oppression, exploitation, and brute rule to the colonial peoples, such as it has brought to Ethiopia. Efforts at fascist penetration of Latin America pose before the peoples of those countries the frightful prospect of barbaric fascist domination. That is clear because of the very nature of fascism. The Communist International, at its Seventh World Congress, described fascism as "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialistic elements of finance capital" and further explained that "fascism acts in the interests of the extreme imperialists, but presents itself to the masses in the guise of champion of an ill-treated nation, and appeals to outraged national sentiments." How well this is to be seen in Hitler's "humane" concern for the Sudetens!

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Concerted action of the democracies of the world to curb fascist aggression, and the consistent application of the Good Neighbor policy by the United States, would put an end to fascist penetration of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. To call a halt to the fascist drive for conquest by Germany, Italy and Japan is to remove the greatest menace to the peace and security of the world and the colonial peoples. The application of a policy of quarantining the aggressors, based upon the collaboration of the peoples and governments of the world that desire peace, strikes directly at the most imperialistic, most reactionary forces.

To fail to see this basic fact is to play into the hands of Chamberlain and the other "appeasers" of Hitler. Their loud and boastful declarations against imperialism in general cannot hide the fact that they are helping to disarm those who conduct a genuine anti-imperialist struggle.

The people's struggle in the U. S., England and France to compel their governments to adopt a consistent peace policy is directed also against the most imperialistic, fascist elements within their own countries. This is a vital part of the People's Front tactic. The democratic people of the imperialist nations struggle against a common enemy with the colonial peoples.

Let us take a practical instance of the struggle against imperialism and for full national independence that is closely related to our everyday problems. When the Mexican government carried through a justified and socially necessary expropriation of American and British monopoly oil interests, it was the most imperialistic reactionary elements in the U. S., the rabid anti-New Dealers, who opposed the Good Neighbor policy and called for direct intervention in Mexico. In this respect, the Notes of Secretary Hull to the Mexican government represented a retreat from the Good Neighbor policy under the pressure of the economic royalists. The struggle of the Mexican people against imperialism and for full national independence is directed against these huge monopolies and not against the American people or the Roosevelt administration.

Every effort of the people in the United States to build the democratic front against reaction and for peace is directed against these reactionary big business interests who move in the direction of fascism and incite fascist revolt in Mexico. Thus, the fight by the progressive forces in the U. S. for a positive peace policy and the consistent democratic application of the Good Neighbor policy brings the peoples of Mexico and all Latin America into collaboration with the people and the government of the United States, to keep fascism out of the Americas.

That the congress rejected the "Leftist" policy of the Socialists and exposed its essentially reactionary and splitting character is a tribute to the correctness of its conclusions and the effectiveness of its program in uniting the youth of all countries in the fight for peace.

The findings of the congress were summed up in the Articles of the Vassar Pact, signed by the delegates of 53 countries including the chairman of the U. S. delegation, who signed for the majority of the delegation. This pact outlines a realistic program of

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concerted action for peace. It can become the unified program of the youth of the world who are prepared to work for "quarantining the aggressors." Undoubtedly in the United States all those organizations of youth that stand for international cooperation and are ready to draw the necessary conclusions on the need for concerted action will find it a satisfactory basis for action. At the same time, those groups that are only now breaking away from an isolationist position can unite around the seven-point program of the U. S. delegation as a *minimum* program upon which all can agree.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE CONGRESS

Some important lessons can be learned from the method and the approach of the Vassar congress. In discussing the formulation of a peace program it approached each youth organization on the basis of its special interests. Its commissions were organized around the "Religious and Philosophical Bases of Peace," the "Economic and Political Organization of Peace," and the "Economic and Cultural Status of Youth in Relation to Peace."

To pose the problem of struggle for peace in this manner had two distinct advantages.

First, it made possible the mobilization of the religious youth organizations on the basis of their own philosophy for peace.

The congress affirmed the position that while it is impossible to reduce all views among the youth into a common ideology, that does not prevent youth of all opinions from collaborating for peace. Clearly, in the spirit of the decisions of the congress itself, there is created the basis and possibility for unity of action between the Communists and the youth of all religious views, including the Catholics. The logical application of these principles in the United States in the work of the youth congress movement will make possible the inclusion of the great masses of Catholic youth collaboration for peace. Much remains to be done by the American Youth Congress in this field.

Secondly, the congress indicated how it is possible to connect the struggle for peace and for social justice. It has been a weakness of the progressive movement in America that, while it has learned to work consistently for "social justice," for the economic and social advancement of the people, it has not yet sufficiently learned to connect this work with the necessary struggle for a correct peace policy. The congress correctly concluded that social justice is impossible without peace, and that lasting peace is inconceivable without social justice. The progressive and labor movement in America, by studying and applying the findings of the Vassar Youth Congress, can learn this basic lesson. In this lies one of the principal contributions of the World Youth Congress to the United States.

We Communists, together with all progressive America, look with great hopes to the growing unified youth movement in America. The rich lessons and experiences of the World Youth Congress applied to the problems of the youth movement will surely help to extend further and deepen its unity and thus contribute to the strengthening and solidification of the forces that are building the democratic front.

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BOOK REVIEWS

A WEAPON IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

THE PERIL OF FASCISM: The Crisis of American Democracy. By A. B. Magil and Henry Stevens, 319 pp., International Publishers, New York, $2.00.

THE Peril of Fascism makes a real contribution to the struggle against growing fascist movements in the United States. The high quality of this book is that it does not merely accumulate facts and data. The book is essentially analytical. Basing themselves on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, A. B. Magil and Henry Stevens analyze the economic and political situation in the country since the World War, the effects of the world situation upon the United States, the recent and present realignment of class relationships and the forces that work for and against fascism.

The authors have mastered the teaching on fascism enunciated by the Communist International and have based their study of the fascist danger in the United States on the classic characterization of fascism formulated by Comrade Georgi Dimitroff at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International:

". . . Fascism in power is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital."*

The introductory chapter is on the nature of fascism. The authors expose the false and dangerous theories that deny the ultra-reactionary monopolist base of fascism and that declare it to stand "above classes." Likewise, the conception that fascism is a "movement of the middle class" is clearly analyzed as so much deception.

The book makes clear that fascism is not a "sudden eruption." The authors have made a searching analysis of the economic and political development of the United States, differentiating between the progressive character of capitalism in its youth and its reactionary role in the era of monopoly capitalism, and thus showing fascism to be a phenomenon of the post-war period of the general crisis of capitalism.

The economic crisis of 1929 "marked a definite turning point in American history, uncovering the decay at the root of American society which no small palliatives could remedy and no temporary 'business upturns' could successfully hide." Because of these fundamental changes in the country the capitalist class began to develop a very conscious orientation towards fascism. A campaign for "strong government," for curtailing the power of Congress, a campaign of violence and suppression of democratic rights, was on the order of the day. It was also during this period that scores of fascist and semi-fascist organizations were formed throughout the country. As the crisis deepened, big business became much louder in demanding the adoption of fascist measures. The authors conclude that by the close of the Hoover regime, "the vestiges of democratic rights had dwindled considerably and looked as though they might soon disappear altogether. . . . Fascist organizations and would-be Hitlers were springing up. American democracy faced a grave crisis." The keen analysis of the economic crisis is a real contribution to an understanding of present-day American life.

With the defeat of the Hoover administration and the election of President Roosevelt the country entered a new stage of development. The authors give this as a basis for their very able analysis of the New Deal in its first stage:

"Roosevelt attempted to reconcile the contradictory demands of the contending social forces. His administration, at this stage, represented a broad coalition of heterogeneous interests, ranging from the lords of finance,

* Georgi Dimitroff: *The United Front*, International Publishers, New York.

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demanding measures to strengthen the monopolies, to lower middle class strata clamoring for government action to restrain the monopolies. . . . The New Deal had the support of all sections of the capitalist class and of the trade union movement. . . . The heterogeneous character of the administration was reflected both in the Roosevelt Cabinet and in the composition of the 'brain trust.' At one pole of the Cabinet was Secretary of Treasury Woodin, an important financier, linked with the most powerful groups in Wall Street; at the other, Secretary of Interior Ickes, a fairly advanced progressive. Similarly the personnel of the brain trust extended from General Hugh Johnson, a close associate of the stock-manipulator Bernard Baruch, to Professor Rexford Guy Tugwell, an economist with a wide reputation as a liberal.

"Roosevelt gathered together this strange conglomeration of irreconcilable forces for what he regarded as a great national crusade to lift the economic system from the abyss of the crisis." (Pp. 85-86.)

From this analysis the authors draw the correct conclusions that such a "coalition" could not last long. Hence, a new alignment of forces came about that resulted in a split between the New Deal supporters and the most reactionary sections of finance capital that "moved bag and baggage into the anti-Roosevelt camp." This process became especially clear after the reactionary forces had received tremendous help from the government in strengthening their economic status. Having taken from the New Deal what they needed to bolster them, they demanded that all measures tending to help the working class, the farmers and the middle classes be scrapped. By the time of the 1936 elections "big business turned to the Republican Party as the political instrument with which to achieve its aims. It took complete control of the national machine of the Republican Party, dictated the Republican platform and picked the Republican Presidential candidate."

The authors then deal at great length with the sharp struggles that developed in the country during the N.R.A. as well as with the growing differences between the supporters of the New Deal and of reaction.

The year 1936 was a crucial year. Great issues affecting the lives and the future of the American people were at stake:

"Thus the Presidential struggle of 1936 was not the ordinary American election contest between two sets of politically indistinguishable programs and candidates. It squarely confronted the nation with the issue: democracy or fascism. If the forces grouped around Landon had won the elections, it would have meant the triumph of the most reactionary and jingoistic sections of big business, of those groups in American society which were attempting to drag the country towards fascism." (P. 101.)

The authors draw the correct conclusion, however, that the danger of fascism is by no means less today than before 1936. An entire chapter is devoted to the "Fountainhead of Fascism," the real forces behind the fascist danger, their tremendous wealth and power, their control over the press, their concerted efforts, and their feverish work against democracy. Particularly effective is the analysis of the onslaught of reaction that began when President Roosevelt submitted his Supreme Court reform measure and reached its high point during the C.I.O. organizing campaigns. A drive of reaction that has lasted for almost two years and with no let-up in sight.

After clearly establishing the monopoly capital force behind the fascist offensive, the authors describe the organizations and key individuals to whom finance capital assigned the job to lead it. Starting with the Liberty League as "the first organized national expression of the re-grouping of political forces that is aligning reactionaries of both Democratic and Republican parties," "Liberty League Children," the Crusaders, the Farmers Independence Council, the Black Legion, etc., are thoroughly analyzed and exposed as never before. Similarly, the book contains a special chapter on the "Demagogues of Fascism"—the programs of Hearst, Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and Gerald Smith. The authors brilliantly describe how these fascist demagogues have attempted to utilize the traditions of Populism in order to mislead the American people.

The chapter dealing with organized terror greatly adds to the content of the book. The Black Legion, the KKK, the White Crusaders, the Silver Shirts, the Nazi Bund, the Khaki Shirts, the Crusaders for Economic Liberty, as well as the "Citizen's Committees" and the vigilante movements are all presented as links of one chain, the chain of the fascist danger spreading from Maine to

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Florida. Indisputable evidence is produced to prove that all these terrorist organizations are led and directed by the du Ponts, Fords, Girdlers and Graces in their offensive upon the workers and their organizations. The Mohawk Valley Plan and the Johnstown Citizen's Committee are especially noted in this connection.

The chapter dealing with the so-called "Professional Patriotic" organizations is indeed very illuminating. The role of the Civic Federation, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Key Men of America, and partially the American Legion is very vividly described. Not only their present reactionary role, but their development in American life, their past and present, are effectively traced.

In the chapter, "Threat from Without," the book proceeds with a vivid and documented description of the role of German fascism and its penetration into a number of countries on the American continent. These fascist activities, the book reveals with an unusual array of data, are not limited to the American German Bund. The facts of German and Italian economic penetration in Latin America are here revealed with startling accumulation. Likewise the role of Japanese imperialism in the Pacific is thoroughly examined.

It is in this light that the authors discuss isolationism and "neutrality." It is on the basis of these appalling data that they are the better enabled to present the realistic peace policy of collective security.

Finally, by way of summary, the authors raise a fundamental question: The Liberty League is dead and so is Huey Long, the Black Legion is exposed. Does this mean that the menace of fascism is less today? The authors meet this question:

"The forces which created the Liberty League and nurtured the Black Legion are still energetically at work, sometimes openly, more frequently in covert and devious ways.

"Their activities confront the American people with a political issue of the most critical importance: the issue of democracy or fascism. American democracy is threatened in as real and as compelling a sense as was German democracy in 1930-32. Whether the United States will succumb, as did Germany, to the black legions of fascism or move ahead toward a broader democracy is the question at stake. The one certain thing is that it cannot stand still. In the life-and-death struggle between the forces of democracy and fascism, the one or the other must advance." (P. 277.)

From sounding the danger of fascism, the book proceeds to outline the program for combating fascism—the program of a democratic and people's front against fascism. The book winds up with the conclusion that the final and permanent defeat of fascism can be secured only with a socialist reorganization of society. It points out that the only country in the world that is completely immune from fascism (barring fascist attacks from the outside) is the U.S.S.R.

In relation to the program for fighting fascism in the United States, the book could, however, have been considerably strengthened, had greater emphasis been given to the growing anti-fascist forces in the country. The fact that the American trade union movement, from one of the weakest has in recent times become one of the strongest in the capitalist world is a decisive victory in the struggle against fascism. The mighty industrial unions of the C.I.O., the role of Labor's Non-Partisan League, the growing independent political role of the American working class, the mass anti-fascist sentiment of the American people, the extending anti-fascist youth movement are indeed decisive factors. By bringing out these positive achievements of the working class and the progressive forces generally, we in no way minimize the danger of fascism; on the contrary, we point to the forces gathering into the democratic front which by its united and resolute actions is bound to defeat fascism.

There is also a decided lack of emphasis in the book on the organic relation of fascism to war. We must never lose sight of Comrade Dimitroff's statement, so clearly realized in the recent world events:

"They are trying to solve the problem of markets by enslaving the weak nations, by intensifying colonial oppression and repartitioning the world anew by means of war. *That is why they need fascism.* . . . Fascism is unbridled chauvinism and annexationist war."*

Through such a theoretical explanation of fascism as the instigator of war, the Amer-

* *Ibid.*

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ican people will hate fascism doubly, not only for attempting to rob the people of their living standards and their freedom but also for proceeding to engulf humanity in a new world slaughter. Fascism is war. An explanation of the war character of fascism, deriving from the very make-up of fascism, why precisely the fascist powers are today the aggressors, deserves a prominent place in a work on the peril of fascism.

No one can give a complete Marxist-Leninist analysis of fascism without exposing the role of the fascist agents within the ranks of the working class and its allies. Indeed, this book could have greatly heightened its value as a weapon in the struggle for democracy and peace had it dealt with the role of the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites as agents of fascism. We hope that in the next edition this serious omission will be corrected.

The Peril of Fascism is not the kind of book that one simply reads; it must be studied and its analysis must be absorbed.

It is deserving of a place as a valuable textbook to be used in Party, trade union and progressive schools. Certainly, no serious student of the labor movement can do without it. For Communists it must become a "must" book to read and study.

JOHN STEUBEN

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